RITES
OF
FUNERAL
Ancient and *Modern*,
IN USE
Through the Known *WORLD*.

Written Originally in *French* by the Ingenious *Monſieur MURET*.

To which is added,
A *Vindication* of *CHRISTIANITY* againſt *PAGANISM*.

All Tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *P. LORRAIN*.

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UMI

To the Honourable

SAMUEL PEPYS Esq;

SIR,

TO *apologize* for this *Dedication* under the worn pretence of a desire of *Protection*, were at once to do violence, both to the Character of my *Author* (whose Fame has rais'd him above the need of any) and my own *Modesty*, who am too conscious of what the best performances of this kind amount to, not to know, That *Pardon* only

(without *Protection*) is Indulgence ſufficient to the frailties of a *Tranſlation.*

THAT then which alone emboldens me to the inſcribing this to *YOUR REVER'D NAME*, is a belief I have, that the *Copy* cannot be diſagreeable to *YOU* of an *Original*, in whoſe diverſities of Entertainment and Reading, You have been ſometimes pleas'd to own ſo much ſatisfaction, eſpecially upon a Subject of ſuch ſingularity as this, touching the different *Rites* of *Funeral* in practice with Mankind.

OF which *Rites*, however entitled *YOUR VIRTUES* have long ſince rendred YOU to thoſe of the moſt Solemn, or YOUR ſeverer *PHILOSOPHY* may nevertheleſs make YOU partial to others

others of the less studied Methods mention'd in this *Treatise*; *GOD* grant Your arrival at either may be as late for the benefit of *Others*, as *YOUR KNOWN INTEGRITY* and *FORTITUDE* render impossible its coming too soon with regard to *YOUR SELF*. Which is the most fervent Prayer of,

HONOUR'D SIR,

Your most Faithful and most Obedient Servant,

PAUL LORRAIN.

Novemb. 6.
1682.

UMI

THE TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

THE Wiſeſt of Kings tells us, that * it is better to go to the House of Mourning, than to that of Laughter; *And thoſe who have well conſider'd the grounds he had for this his Judgment, will not by the Title of this Book (as melancholy as it appears) be affrighted from the peruſing it. I might indeed acquaint the* Reader, *that in the tranſlating thereof, I have conſulted nothing more than his pleaſure and diverſion (which he cannot miſs of, amidſt ſo great a variety of Relations, concerning the magnificence of* Sepulchres, *with other Honors beſtow'd upon, and manners of diſpoſing of the*

* Eccl. 7. 4.

DEAD) but I will not insist on this, my design being rather to profit, than delight; for else it would have been more proper for me to have usher'd my Reader to a Theatre, than a Church-Yard among Graves and Charnel-Houses. I must confess that a Skeleton, how neatly soever hung and wir'd together, is not an Object so entertaining as a Venus drawn by some Masterly Hand; but withal it must be granted, that as much as Delight carries it on this side, so much does Advancement of Knowledge over-ballance it on the other; the one feeds our Vanity, the other composeth us to Sobriety, and teaches us the best of Lessons, To know our selves. What we read to have been, and still to be the Custom of some Nations, to make Sepulchres the Repositories of their greatest Riches, is (I am sure) universally true in a Moral sense, however it may be thought in the Literal; there being never a Grave but what conceals a Treasure, though all have not the Art to discover it. I do not here

here invite the covetous Miſer to diſturb the Dead, *who can frame no* Idea *of Treaſure diſtinct from Gold and Silver; but him who knows that* Wiſdome *and* Virtue *are the true and ſole* Riches *of Man, as he is an intelligent Creature, and the Image of his Glorious Creator. Is not Truth a Treaſure, think you? Which yet* Democritus *aſſures us, is buried in a deep Pit or* Grave; *and he had reaſon; for whereas we meet elſewhere with nothing but paint and deceit, we no ſooner look down into a* Grave; *but Truth faceth us, and tells us our own. It was not by chance that the Primitive* Chriſtians *joyn'd their* Cœmeteries *to their Temples, or Places of Divine Worſhip; they well underſtanding that the Inſtructions communicated to them through their Ears in the* one, *were enforced by thoſe they took in from their Eyes in the* other, *and that both tended to the ſame bleſſed end, of rendring them Wiſe and Religious. Of which Truth* Plato *was ſo convinc'd, as to define* Wiſdom *the Meditation of* Death; *ratified by the*

the Divine Oracle in that Pathetick
* *Deuter.* 32.29. *Wiſh*, * Oh that they were wiſe, that they would conſider their latter end! *And with no ſlight confirmation given it alſo by the Wiſeſt of* Preachers, *even where the Libertine ſeems leaſt to apprehend it, namely, in his*
‖ *Eccl.* 9.10 *declaring* ‖ no Wiſdom *to remain* in the Grave whereto we are going; *for as much as in ſo cautioning us againſt a too late expectation of finding it (when* dead) *in our own, he directs us the more forcibly to the ſeeking for it (while* living) *in the* Graves *of others.*

WHICH having ſaid with regard to the valuableneſs of the Subject, I ſhall only add, for the Reader's *fuller information, my having taken the liberty of retrenching one* Chapter *of this* Book, *under the Title of* [*The* Funerals *of* Hereticks] *as finding the ſame little leſs or more, than an Invective againſt* Proteſtants, *in reference to their* Rites *of* Burial. *Nor can I think my ſo doing will be judg'd any blameable impoſure upon my* Catholick

lick *Author*: *For as much as by covering the Miſtakes whereto the partiality of his Zeal has too viſibly betray'd him in this particular, I ſhall be found to have beſt conſulted the general Credit of that Truth, which the* Reader *will obſerve him a moſt ſtrict Purſuer of, through every other part of this his* Hiſtory.

ADIEU.

ERRATA.

PAge 4. in the Margin, read *Sext. Empiric*, p. 11. l. 13. r. *Place*. p. 12. l. ult. r. *Cypres* p. 14. l. 6. r. *Tutelar*. p. 22. in Marg. r. *their attending* p. 32. l. 9 r. *Veij* p. 42. l. 8 r. *Offices*. p. 49. l. 22. r. *Juſtinian*. p. 72. l. 21. for *of* r. *in*. p. 77. l. 11. r. *ſounding on Trumpets*. p. 86. l. 10. f. *tha* r. *an*. p. 92. l. 2. r. *take it*. l. 8. r. *may be*. p. 123. l. 4. r. *and*. l. 5. r. *him*. p. 140. l. 8. r. *extends*. l. 10. f. *were* r. *are*. p. 146. l. 4. dele *a*. p. 147. l. 12. & 167. l. 2. r. *Water*. p. 161. l. 22. r. *lamentings*. p. 191. l. 12 r. *there*. p. 199. l. 24. f. *by* r. *at*. p. 203. l. 7. dele *alſo* p. 226. l. 15. r. *Crimes*. p. 244. l. 10. f. *ſhut* r. *ſtop*. p. 293. l. 1. r. *Scipio's*. Throughout for *Corpſes* read *Corps*.

THE

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THE FUNERAL RITES AND CEREMONIES OF ALL NATIONS.

CHAP. I.

Funerals of the *Egyptians.*

I DESIGNING to treat of the *Funeral Rites of all Nations*, ſhall begin with thoſe of the *Egyptians*, becauſe that People has always been acknowledged for the moſt ancient; and from whom *Laws*, *Arts*, *Sciences* and *Ceremonies* were firſt deriv'd to other Countries. Aſſoon as any one was dead amongſt

* *Diod. lib.* 2. *Hiſt.* Officers employ'd by the *Egyptians* at their *Funerals.*

them, * the *Funeral* Officers, which were three, *viz.* the Clerk, the Anatomiſt, or Diſſector, and the Embalmer, preſented themſelves to the Kinſmen and Relations of the Departed, and after they had agreed upon the price (for according to the expence they were willing to be at, they diverſly treated the Corps) the Clerk ſet down upon a paper, or marked on the Body it ſelf, the Parts that were to be opened, *viz.* the Flanks on the left ſide. Then the Anatomiſt made the inciſion, and forthwith ran away; becauſe the ſtanders-by did moſt commonly fling ſtones at him, as abhorring to ſee him exerciſe this ſeeming cruelty upon their Friend or Relation. At laſt the Embalmer drew forth all the Intrails, but the Heart and Kidneys; and after he had waſht the Body very well, he inwardly anointed it with a compoſition of all ſorts of ſweet-ſcented drugs and ſpices, except Frankincenſe, becauſe that was by them conſecrated to the Gods;

Gods; and moſt commonly the chief ingredients of this ointment, were Myrrh and Caſſia. This done, he with an Iron-hook pull'd out all the brains through the Noſtrils, and fill'd up the void ſpace with Aromatical drugs.

AS for the remaining Duties, they were perform'd by the kinſmen of the Deceaſed; who aſſoon as theſe * Publick Officers had done their part, and withdrawn themſelves, took the Corps and laid it in Salt, where they let it abide for the ſpace of ſeventy days: at the end of which they waſhed it very carefully, and then neatly ſow'd up again the inciſion which the Anatomiſt had made; afterwards they anointed it outwardly all over with a certain Gum; wrapt it in ſwathing-bands of very fine linnen, which by reaſon of the foreſaid glutinous ointment, ſtuck cloſe to the body; and ſo they ſhut it up in carved and painted wooden frames, which were made for that purpoſe.

* *Mela l.* 1. *ch* 9. The manner of their Burying and Embalming.

Their common Sepulchres

NOW theſe Corpſes thus ordered and embalmed (which we call *Mummies*) ſome kept in their houſes, others ſhut them up in ſome Repoſitories under ground, made in the faſhion of little vaulted rooms, into which the deſcent was through a round or ſquare hole, like unto that of a Well; over which they erected a large * ſtone in manner of a pillar, loaded it with many garlands, and embraced it a thouſand times, giving the Deceaſed their laſt Adieus.

* *Lucian de luctu.*

Their mourning and lamentations for the common ſort.

I HAD almoſt forgot to mention, that in carrying the Body to the grave, both men and women made very ‖ horrid lamentations and outcries, tearing their cloaths, and uncovering their breaſts, which they bruiſed with many reiterated ſtrokes. But theſe bewailings were far more extraordinary upon the Death of any of their Kings; the mourning continuing no leſs than ſeventy two days, during which time all manner of rejoycings and feſtivals

‖ *Sixt. Empyric. l.* 3.

For their Kings.

festivals were forbidden; they all bedawbed their faces with mire and dirt; walked in troops together along the streets, without any thing but a linnen-cloth wrapt about them, mixing the Name of their deceased Prince with their sighs and out-cries: They abstained from wine and delicate meats; deny'd themselves the use of baths and perfumes; they did not so much as make their beds, nor accompany with their Wives, and express'd all the signs of an extraordinary affliction.

Publick Examination of the Lives of their Princes after their Death.

BUT it is to be observ'd, that before they paid him these *Funeral Obsequies*, they caus'd all his actions to be very narrowly scann'd and examin'd by the Judges, and that in the presence of the People: and in case their doings were adjudged bad and unaccountable; they deprived him of Burial, which they never granted their Prince, in the manner as before mentioned, but when by a general consent his Government and Conduct were approved of as good.

For then they erected a ſumptuous Monument for him, or laid him in that which he had prepared for himſelf, whilſt yet alive; upon which monumental Structure they laviſh'd a prodigious treaſure, as the remains of their Pyramids do abundantly teſtifie; which at this day are matter of aſtoniſhment to all that behold them, and were not without great reaſon by Antiquity reckon'd amongſt the Wonders of the World.

Royal Sepulchres.

INDEED they were ſuch Buildings as were never elſewhere to be found: Neither is it at all likely, that any King at this day could go to the charge of them; ſince beſides three hundred and ſeven thouſand men, who for the ſpace of twenty years were employed in building one of them, and eighteen hundred Talents ſpent only in Turnips and Onions, the invention of thoſe Engines whereby they hoiſted up ſo vaſt ſtones to ſuch an incredible and prodigious height is quite loſt.

MOST

MOST of theſe * *Mauſoleums*, or coſtly and magnificent Structures, are made in the faſhion of Pyramids, and are no leſs admirable without, than within. There is one of them that is mounted by two hundred and eight ſteps, and is ſix hundred and fourſcore and two foot broad, and ſix hundred and twenty foot high: In a word, it is ſo high, that though the top of it be ſixteen foot ſquare, yet it does ſhew to thoſe that are beneath, as ſharp as the point of a needle. The entrance into it, is through a little door three foot and ſix inches high, and three foot and three inches broad: Next, you advance through a paſſage of the ſame dimenſions, where firſt you meet with a deſcent of ſixty ſteps, and after that again an aſcent of about an hundred; at the end of which you enter into a little Gallery, and through that into a Hall, in the midſt of which ſtands the Tomb, all of one piece, and of a ſtone as fair to look upon, and as hard, as Por-

* *Bellon. Sing. Obſervat. l. 2.* Their Figure and vaſt Dimenſions.

phyre, the whole Hall being lined with the ſame. Theſe things might ſeem incredible, were they not confirm'd by all them that have travelled into thoſe Parts. The Inhabitants of that Country call theſe huge Buildings *Pharaoh*'s Mountains, by reaſon of their prodigious height; being no leſs wonderful for the immenſeneſs of their Bulk, than for the richneſs of the Matter of which they are made.

The Sepulchre of a young Princeſs. * *Herodot. l. 2. biſt.*

HERODOTUS tells us that one of their Kings, * *Micerin* by name, caus'd a Tomb to be made for his Daughter, which was no leſs aſtoniſhing than the foregoing. He having no children but her, and ſeeing himſelf by her death deprived of Heirs, ſpared nothing which might expreſs how ſenſibly he was touched with this loſs, and endeavoured to immortalize her memory by the moſt ſuperb and ſumptuous ſtructure he could poſſibly deviſe. Inſtead therefore of a Monument, he order'd a Palace to be erected for her,

her, with a great Hall in the midſt of it, adorn'd with abundance of Figures and Statues, all beſpangled with precious ſtones: After this he cauſed her Corps to be laid up in a frame of incorruptible wood, faſhioned into the likeneſs of a Cow, which was covered all over with plates of Gold, and a Purple-mantle caſt over it. The figure of this Cow was kneeling, and had a Sun of maſſy gold between her horns, and was enlightned by a Lamp whoſe flames were fed with a moſt odoriferous oil, hanging before it, and round about the Hall nothing was ſeen but perfuming pans and Cenſers, which continually caſt out clouds of ſweet ſcents and perfumes.

BY theſe inſtances we may perceive what honours the *Egyptians* of old were uſed to confer upon their Dead; and for concluſion of this Chapter I ſhall only further add, that there were commonly three ſorts of Buryings in uſe amongſt them, Three ſorts of Burials.

them, which were distinguished into sumptuous, indifferent, and mean or poor. The charges of the first were a Talent of Silver, and of the second twenty Mines; the expences of the last being very inconsiderable.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Funerals of the *Grecians.*

THE *Grecians* have not always diſpoſed of their Dead the ſame way: For at the firſt they uſed Burials, and after that, the cuſtom of Burning prevailed amongſt them: Of both which ways we have ſeveral inſtances from very credible Authors. *Thucydides* tells us, that * *Themiſtocles* being dead at *Magneſia* (where he was Governour) was buried in the great Palace of that City, and that ſome time afterwards they took his bones from thence, and carried them to *Athens*, his own Country, where they were interred a ſecond time. A like account he gives of *Braſidas*, *viz.* That this brave General being dead of the wounds, which he received in the Victory by him obtained over the *Athenians*, at *Eon*, was publickly carried by the

Burying and burning of the Dead in uſe among the *Grecians.*

* *Thucyd. l.* 1. Divers Examples of Burials.

the Chief Officers of his Army, upon their ſhoulders, to the place where a Monument was prepar'd for him, in the midſt of the Great Market, and that there they buried him. He further acquaints us, that ſome time after, thoſe of *Antibe* offer'd many Sacrifices at his Tomb; inſtituted Games in honour of him, and ranked him amongſt the number of their Gods. The ſame *Thucydides* informs us, that they had a ſpecial care to pay all due honours to ſuch as died in the Wars in defence of their own Country: And to that purpoſe tells us, that all thoſe who were kill'd at the ſeveral Battels fought in *Morea* were moſt honourably buried in the manner as follows. Firſt, for the ſpace of three days they left their Bones in a Tent, where every one of their friends made them Preſents of what they liked moſt when they were yet alive: Afterwards they laid them, together with the foreſaid gifts, in *Cyprus*-Cheſts or Coffins, and every Tribe

Tribe having placed the bodies of thoſe that belonged to them, on Chariots, they were drawn by men to the place of Burial; being followed by an infinite number of Citizens, who fill'd the air with lamentable wailing and out-cries. Moreover the ſame Hiſtorian obſerves, that beſides thoſe forementioned Coffins, they carried ſome empty ones, in honour of them whoſe Bones they could not find.

Funeral Elogies and common Place of Souldiers Burial.

NEVERTHELESS they moſt commonly * buried the Souldiers in the very ſame place where they had fought and were ſlain, rendring them their laſt honours, where they had purchaſed their greateſt glory; and employ'd one of the moſt honourable and eloquent of their Magiſtrates to make a Funeral Oration in commendation of them.

* *Demoſth. cont. Eubulid.*

‖ *Plut. in Solon. Senec. in Oedip. Act. 1.*

AS for ‖ thoſe that died on their beds, they were buried in the Suburbs. It was their cuſtom never to inter the Dead within their Cities,

Place of Burial for ſuch who died on their beds.

Cities, becauſe they conſidered them as cut off from the ſociety of other men; their *Heroes* only enjoying that priviledge; whoſe Bodies they kept in publick Places, as ſo many Tutelary Gods and Defenders of their Country. Every Family had their own Tomb, and he only was depriv'd of this right, who had ſpent his Patrimony; the Laws appointing him to be buried elſewhere.

Priviledge of Heroes.

Laws that excluded Spendthrifts from the Burying-place of their Fathers.

THE ſame * Laws ordered and reſtrained the manner of their Burials, that they might not be too ſumptuous and prodigal. *Demetrius Phalereus* eſtabliſhed a Magiſtrate to have an eye to the regulating of them, and put a Fine upon thoſe that exceeded ſuch a ſumme. The ſame Law-giver ordered that no other Monument ſhould be erected over the place where the Corps was interred, than a Pillar of three cubits height, or an Urn of the ſame dimenſions, and that the face of the dead ſhould be turned towards the *Eaſt*.

* *Gruther, Kirckman, Guichard,*

Laws that directed the manner of Burials, and laying of the Corps.

East. Nevertheleſs, this cuſtom was not alike obſerv'd throughout *Greece*, for the inhabitants of *Phœnicia* laid the dead with their faces *Weſtward*; and thoſe of *Megara* buried them with their faces downwards; and in this manner it was that *Diogenes* would be buried; he giving this reaſon for it, that ſeeing all things were (according to his opinion) to be turn'd upſide down in ſucceeding Ages, he by this means ſhould at laſt be found with his face upwards, and looking towards Heaven.

Their Mourning, the manner of burying their Dead, and attending at Funerals very various, according to the different Countries of *Greece*.

THEY likewiſe differed very much amongſt themſelves, in the Honours they conferr'd on the Dead, before they carried them to their Graves, as alſo in the way and manner of their Mourning. Some waſhed them with clean water, and others with wine. Some pour'd upon them a thouſand ſweet perfumes, and others did only cover them with Olive-leaves. Some clothed them in Crimſon, others in White

White with abundance of Garlands, and others (as the *Galatians*) put a Letter very well seal'd into their hand, that they might make known their intentions to them in the other World, and that they had well acquitted themselves in performing their last duties to them.

THEIR Mourning lasted seventeen days: And therefore they commonly cut off a finger from the Dead Body, and on the same conferr'd all the Funeral honours they thought due to the Party Deceased. In *Lycia*, men during all that time wore women's cloaths. At *Argos* they dress'd themselves in White, and made great Banquets, and offered many Sacrifices in honour of *Apollo*: In the beginning of these Ceremonies they put out their fire, and afterwards kindled it again. At *Delphos* they sacrificed unto the Dead themselves. At *Delos* they cut off their own hair, and laid it on the Grave. The *Plateans* did after many joyful meetings, which lasted

laſted all the time of Mourning, at laſt make a kind of Funeral pomp, in which a Trumpeter marched firſt, who was followed by ſome Chariots loaden with Bay and Myrtle-leaves; and after theſe Chariots, came ſeveral perſons, carrying bowls full of milk, and wine, which they pour'd out upon the Sepulchre. The *Lacedemonians* crown'd themſelves with Smallage, and ſung Hymns in praiſe of the Dead; and the *Athenians* made great and ſolemn lamentations over them. From all which cuſtoms it plainly appears, that ſome rejoyced, and others mourned at the Death of their Relations and Friends.

IN this point only they all agreed, *viz.* in burying * their Dead; which Duty was accounted ſo ſacred amongſt them, that the *Athenians* condemn'd ſeveral great Captains to death, becauſe they had caſt the Bodies of ſome that were kill'd in a Sea-fight into the Sea. Upon this ſcore it was, that their Ge-

* *Thucyd. l.* 1.

The Duty of Burying inviolable amongſt them.

neral *Nicias* caus'd his whole Army to make a halt till they had interr'd two private Souldiers, who died in the march. And the Illuſtrious *Cimon*, ſon of *Miltiades*, made no difficulty to give himſelf up a priſoner into the hands of his Fathers Creditors, who had after his Death ſeiſed his Corps, to deprive it of the honour of Burial.

Example of Wood-piles, or burning of the Dead.

'TIS matter of wonder, that Burying the Dead having been for ſome time in ſo great veneration amongſt them, they ſhould all on a ſudden aboliſh that cuſtom, and inſtead thereof commit their Corps to the devouring flames: For it was they who invented that hideous ceremony of * Wood-piles; and were the firſt that turn'd thoſe into Aſhes, after their Death, whom they had during their lives moſt dearly beloved. This we learn from *Lucian*, who laughs at that cuſtom; and *Homer* in many places of his *Iliads* abundantly confirms it, who, to give us a perfect *Idea* of thoſe Ceremonies,

* *Homer. Iliad.*

monies, ſets down very particularly the Honours that were done to the body of *Patroclus:* Telling us, that *Achilles* having order'd the whole Army to be ranged in battel-array round about the Wood-pile, caus'd twelve young Gentlemen, *Trojans*, to have their heads cut off; beſides a vaſt number of Oxen, Horſes, Sheep, Dogs, and other beaſts, which were butchered, and their bodies confuſedly laid about the Corps of his Friend; and laſt of all he himſelf having caſt his Hair, which he had cut off with his own hand, into the flames, all was conſum'd amidſt the lamentable cries of the whole Army.

CHAP. III.

Funerals of the *Romans.*

Burying and Burning of the Dead us'd amongſt the *Romans.*

THE *Romans* having ſucceeded to the *Grecians* in the Empire of the World, as they received from them many of their Laws and Manners, ſo moſt of their Ceremonies: But to the end we may not ſwerve from our Subject, we ſhall only obſerve how they were Imitators of the *Grecians* in the diſpoſing of their Dead; for both of them at the firſt buried, afterwards burned them; and at laſt abhorring thoſe horrid Solemnities, they introduc'd again the cuſtom of interring them. * Their Hiſtory acquaints us, that the former Burials laſted from *Romulus* (who was the Founder of their City) to the tyrannous Dictatorſhip of *Sylla*, ‖ who having caus'd the Bones of his Enemy *Marius* to be digged out of his Grave,

* *Herodot. Dion. Herod.*

‖ *Liv. l.* 12.

Grave, and fearing that the like affront might be done to him after his Death, he by an expreſs Law made for that purpoſe, and many pompous Ceremonies, engaged the People to burn their Dead to aſhes, which were afterwards gathered and ſhut up in Urnes. This Law was obſerv'd until the Empire of the *Antonin*'s, who being Philoſophers and Virtuous Princes, could not endure that this kind of cruelty ſhould be any longer exerciſed upon Humane Bodies; and therefore did aboliſh the uſe of Wood-piles, and reſtor'd the former way of Burying.

* WHEN the ſick was at the point of Death, his neareſt Relation drew nigh unto him, waiting till he gave the laſt gaſp, which he receiv'd with his open Mouth; and then ſhut his Eyes, provided he were not a Son of the Deceaſed; for the *Manian* Law forbad Children to cloſe their Father's eyes. And the ſame Kinſman did open

* *Varro L. 4. de Lin. Lat.* Ceremonies obſerved at their Departure.

them again, after that the Funeral Officers had done their duty; that is to ſay, after they had waſht him well, cloathed him with his own cloaths, and laid him in the Tomb, or on the Wood-pile. Some ſay, that the reaſon why they cloſed the Eyes of thoſe who were a dying, was, that they might not ſee the affliction which they caus'd to the ſtanders-by; and that they open'd them in the Grave, to the end they might behold the Beauty of Heaven, which was the abode they wiſh'd them to all Eternity.

The manner and magnificence of the attending the Corps to the Grave.

THE manner of accompanying the Corps of one of the common People to the Grave, was very plain and ſimple; but when the Perſon was of great Quality, the pomp and ſtate they uſed was very extraordinary. The march uſually began with a long row of the Statues of his Anceſtors, dreſſed in their Apparel and Robes of State; *viz.* in *Conſular* Robes, if they had been rais'd to that Dignity; in the *Pretexta*,

texta, if they had commanded in the Army; in Purple, if they had been * *Cenſors*; or in Cloth of Gold, if they had ever enjoyed the higheſt honours of Triumph. After theſe Statues of his Anceſtors, followed his own; with all the marks and ſignals of the Employments he had diſcharg'd, or Honours he had obtained, *viz.* Bundles of Rods & Axes, Garlands of Laurel or Oak, and thoſe Coronets which were called *Muralis* and *Civica*; the former of which being given as a mark of honour to thoſe who had firſt ſcal'd a Wall and entred the City; the other to them who had preſerved a City from the power of the Enemy, or ſaved the Life of any Citizen. And to all theſe they ſometimes added the repreſentations of the Cities or Provinces they had conquer'd. Next came all his Domeſticks in mourning, and were followed by Muſicians, who plaid to a ſad and doleful Tune; the Inſtruments being diverſe, according

* *Herod.*

to the age of the Perſons; for they made uſe of Pipes only for young People, and of Trumpets for the ancient. Theſe Inſtruments went immediately before the Corps, which was carried by the *Veſpillo's* (ſo call'd, becauſe they never buried the Dead but in the dusk of the Evening or at Night) and was follow'd by a throng of the Relations and Friends of the deceaſed, who had a company of young Boys and little Girls at the head of them; the former of which had their heads cover'd with a black Vail, and the latter went bare-headed with all their Hair ſpread about their Ears: All theſe marched in great order, through the care which was taken by the *Deſignators*, or Maſters of Ceremonies.

Officers that carried the Bodies to the Grave.

IN the beginning of their State they were wont, after they had attended the Corps abroad, to bring them into their Houſes, and there interred them *; from whence aroſe that great veneration they had for

Burying in Houſes uſed amongſt them, and afterwards forbidden.

* *Varro. l. 4*

for their *Penates* or Houſhold-Gods, which were nothing elſe but the Ghoſts of thoſe that belonged to their Family. But this cuſtom did not laſt very long, not only becauſe of the horror, which the continual preſence of the Dead cauſed to the Living, but alſo by reaſon of the infection and ill ſcents ariſing from them. Which gave occaſion to a Law, whereby it was enacted, that thenceforth no Dead ſhould be buried in the City, much leſs kept in their Houſes, as they did before; that Priviledge being only granted to *Veſtals*, to Emperors, and thoſe who had been *Triumphators*.

Priviledge of the *Heroes* and *Veſtals*.

THE common place of Burial was the *Via Flaminia* or *Latina*, that is, the *Flaminian* or *Latin* Road:* Where, as ſoon as they were arriv'd, one of the Relations ſtanding in the midſt of the company, who made a ring about him, pronounced the Funeral Oration in praiſe of the Deceas'd: Afterwards they laid him in the Grave with an ever-burning Lamp,

Burying-Place.

* *Tacit. l. 1.*

Lamp, and ſome ſmall Veſſels full of ſeveral ſorts of Drink and Meats (not forgetting to put in alſo a piece of money to pay *Charon*, for waſting them over in his Ferry) and ſome Woollen Garlands, that they might with decency and honor appear in the *Elyſian* Fields.

Mourning-Women.

* *Plin. l. 7. c. 44.*

* AS ſoon as the Grave was ſhut up, the Weeping-women, which they call'd *Præficæ*, (who had no other employment, but to lament at Burials, and were uſually to that purpoſe hired for money) cry'd aloud *Ilicet*, that is, *Every one may now be gone.* Upon which the Company three ſeveral times anſwered with a mournful voice, *Vale*, *Vale*, *Vale*, giving the deceaſed Party their laſt Adieus, and ſo withdrew.

Laws that order'd the manner of Burying of the Dead.

‖ *Cic. l. de Legib.*

THEIR Tombs were order'd and limited by the Laws, the workmanſhip about them being expreſly forbid to exceed what ten men might finiſh in three days time‖, or five at the moſt; neither were they ſuffered to be larger than was neceſſary

ceſſary for the engraving of an Epitaph. It was upon this account, that *Licinius* was declar'd an infamous Perſon, for having caus'd a ſtately Sepulchre to be erected for him, wherein he had much exceeded the aforeſaid bounds. At firſt, the cuſtom was to write their Epitaphs in Verſe, which never exceeded two Diſtichs: But afterwards they found Proſe to be the better way, becauſe it left them more at liberty, not only to expreſs the Name of the Deceas'd, with that of his Family and Tribe; but likewiſe the honourable Offices and Employments he had diſcharged, his Profeſſion, and the Legacies he had bequeathed. They began theſe Epitaphs by conſecrating the Monuments they had erected, to the *Dii Manes*, that is, the Ghoſts or Spirits of the Dead, or to the Infernal Deities; and ſometimes to *Diana*, *Hercules*, or any other Divinity, for which they had a more particular devotion; and ended the ſame

ſame with mentioning the Legacies the deceaſed had given by his laſt Will, which conſiſted either in Feaſts, or ſumms of money to be diſtributed to the people, and ſometimes Oil, Biskets, and ſuch like viands; which the Executors were bound every year to perform at the Tomb of the Deceaſed, the ſame day they died, or elſe on their Birth-day.

NEITHER did they that out-lived them (in acknowledgment of benefits received) forget any thing that might conduce to the preſerving of their memory. *For preſently upon the Death of any perſon of quality they ordered his Statue to be made to the life; which after it had graced his Funeral pomp, was brought home, ſet in a Niche, and was uſed to be taken thence (in caſe he had been a Magiſtrate) upon days of great Solemnities, to accompany the publick Proceſſions; and if he were a private perſon, they adorn'd it in its Repoſitory

* *Plin. l. 7. c. 44.*

Statues of the Dead kept in their Relations houſes, and in publick places.

Repoſitory with Garlands, and ſeveral other gallantries. Moreover, if he that was dead had done any conſiderable ſervices to the Commonwealth; then beſides the Statue which his Relations kept of him in their houſes, there was another erected at the charge of the publick in ſome eminent Place of the City, in order to its being expoſed to the ſight of all men. This honour they gave to *Scipio* the *African*, whoſe Statue they ſet up in *Jupiter*'s Temple in the *Capitol*. Whence it was, that when his Poſterity the *Cornelii* entered that Sacred Place to offer any Sacrifice, they firſt approached his Statue, and asked his advice, as if he had been there alive. Thus alſo the Statue of *Cato* was placed in the *Senate-houſe*, and that of *Trajan* was fixed upon a Pillar: As afterwards they erected ſuch another Pillar on which they placed the Statue of *Antonine*, who was an Emperor ſo generally belov'd, that he was accounted infamous that had not

not in his house some Pourtraicture or Figure of him, either in colours, embossed Work, or at least in Medal.

* *Ap. de Bel. Punic.* Games instituted in honour of the Dead.

*BESIDES these Statues, they did, in order to celebrate their memory, institute combats of *Gladiators*: which they did in imitation of the *Grecians*, who appointed Games at *Nemæa* in honour of *Archemorus*; and celebrated annual sports and exercises at *Jolcos* in *Thessaly*, in honour of *Acastus*. We read likewise in History, that in memory of *Sciron* they decreed solemn Games, which they called *Isthmia*, from the place where they were celebrated. Those Games were chiefly Tilting, running at the Ring, Wrestling, Fencing, besides combats and skirmishes both by Sea and Land.

Their mourning.

AS to the time of Mourning, it was either longer or shorter, according to the Quality of the person; though commonly it lasted not above nine days, as appears by their *Noven-*

Novendial, or nine-day-Sacrifices, which they offered to the *Manes* or Ghosts of the deceased. Nevertheless, the more scrupulous sort of people amongst them, who were willing to observe religiously the Institutions of the Ancients, did continue the mourning much longer. By the Laws of *Numa* women were to lament the Death of their Husbands; and Children their Parents, a whole year; that is (according to the computation of those times) the space of ten months: But it was not lawful for Husbands to do the same at the Death of their Wives, or Children when they dy'd before they were three years old; but from three years to ten, Parents were allowed to mourn for them as many months, as they had lived years.

*Varrol. 4. Publick and private concerns that put an end to their Mourning.

*IT is also to be observed, that their Mourning oftentimes was broke off before the time appointed by Law, and that upon the account of publick, as well as private occasions. The publick were, either the interve-

intervening of their *Luſtrum*, or Year of Expiation, which was kept every five Years, at which time a Tribute was levied, and the City expiated by Sacrifices; or for the performing of ſome ſolemn Vow made by the Generals of their Army, as was that of *Camillus*, for the taking of the City *Veſæ*; that of *Papirius*; upon his Expedition againſt the *Samnites*: Of *Marcellus*, for the Booty taken from the *Carthaginians* at *Nola*, and ſuch like: Or becauſe of the occurring Feſtival ſolemnities of the Goddeſs *Ceres*: As upon this account it was, that the Mourning, begun for the ſlain in the bloudy Defeat at *Cannæ*, laſted but thirty days. But yet it was only to Men that this was forbidden; for as to Women, they had leave to continue their mourning all the year round.

THE private cauſes were either the Birth of a Son; or the arrival of ſome near Relations, come out of priſon, or freed from bondage; or elſe the marriage of a Daughter.

In

In all which occaſions they ceaſed to mourn for the Dead, that they might not deny ſuch reaſonable rejoycings to the living.

THE ſame Ceremonies before mentioned were uſed to thoſe they Burned, that is, as to their attending the Funerals, their Epitaphs, and Mourning: The difference was only in the manner of their Wood-piles. Theſe were made of very dry wood, and very often of ſuch as was aromatical and ſweet-ſcented, beſides an abundance of Perfumes and odoriferous Oils that were pour'd out upon it, (after the Corps was laid down thereon) and a great many Preſents brought by their Relations and Friends. The Body was wrapt up in an *Aſbeſtin*-cloth, made of the ſtone call'd *Amiantos*, which reſiſts the force of Fire; and ſo kept the Aſhes of the Corps from being mixt with thoſe of the Wood. The neareſt kinſmen put fire to the Wood-pile, turning their eyes from it; and when all was conſum'd,

The manner of their Burning of the Dead.

they gathered up the Aſhes themſelves, and put them in an Earthen-pot, which they laid in a Tomb.

AND to make this Diſcourſe the more compleat, we muſt not forget to inſert, amongſt theſe funeral honours, which were in ſome ſort ſufferable, thoſe which ſuperſtition did afterwards introduce, by ranking them amongſt the number of the Gods, whom they themſelves but a little before acknowledged to be but men, and ſubject to all the infirmities of this life; which *Apotheoſes* or Deifying Ceremonies and Conſecrations were by them chiefly conferred on their deceaſed Emperors.

Mourning and funeral Pomp for their Emperors.

* *Herod. Plut. in Marcel.*

* AS ſoon as any one of theſe was Dead, they cauſed his Image to be made of wax, and dreſſed in his own Cloaths; afterwards they laid it upon a Bed of State in the entrance of the Palace, where all the *Senators* and great *Ladies* came to attend it, ſome of them being clad in Mourning, and others all in White, but very

very plain, and without the leaſt ornament. The *Senators* having taken their places on the left hand, and the *Ladies* on the right, they continued there the whole day, without ſpeaking one word; and for the ſpace of ſeven days enſuing they put on a very ſad countenance. During which time one of the moſt proper and handſom youths, that could be found, attended conſtantly at his Boulſter, to drive the Flies away with a Fan of Peacock-feathers: His Phyſicians alſo viſited him every day, felt his Pulſe, ſtill ſaying, that he grew worſe and worſe; and at laſt having declar'd him Dead, all the Shops throughout the City were ſhut up immediately, every one ceaſing from his work, and ſtriving to out-vie one another in expreſſing their grief and ſorrow. At laſt ſeveral young Noblemen of the higheſt Quality took this Bed (together with the Corps of the deceaſed Emperor) on their ſhoulders, and firſt carried it to the Place,

where they were uſed to elect their Magiſtrates: Here they ſet it on a Throne, which was erected in the midſt, the Senators taking their ſeats round about it, and the Ladies having placed themſelves in certain Galleries, two Quires began a mournful concert, whereof the one was compoſed of Boys, and the other of Girls, who ſang by turns the Praiſes of the late Emperor from two ſcaffolds on each ſide of the Throne. Theſe concerts were followed with an eloquent Oration, uttered by his Succeſſor, which after having been oft interrupted, by the applauſe, as well as lamentations of the Auditors, ended at laſt in a general mourning, accompanied with moſt doleful out-cries.

Their Funeral Elogy.

NO ſooner was this noiſe over, but the Funeral-pomp began to advance. The firſt that ſet forth were thoſe that carried the Statues of all the Great Men, that had commanded in the City, *viz.* of their *Kings*, *Dictators*, *Conſuls*, and *Emperors*. Theſe

Theſe Statues were accompanied with the repreſentations of plain imboſſed work on Braſs, of all the Provinces and principal Cities ſubject to the Empire: After theſe came ſeveral that bare Standards; there being as many of them, as there were different Provinces under the *Roman* Government.

AFTER all theſe illuſtrious marks of their Grandeur, followed the ſeveral Companies of Tradeſmen, every one in their rank and order. Then came the Archers; and after them the Regiments of the Guards, with their Trumpeters: And in the rear of all came a Cavalcade, conſiſting of young Noblemen, and laſt of all many Chariots loaden with all the Ornaments, Perfumes, and precious things that were to be ſpent and conſumed at the Funeral.

WHEN all this train was paſs'd by; the Prieſts, and the Magiſtrates elect, did again lift up the dead Body with the Bed of State

on which it was laid, and delivered the ſame to ſome *Roman* Knights, who as ſoon as they had taken it up on their Shoulders, the whole Company began their march out of the City towards the Field of *Mars*, ſome of the Senators walking immediately before the Bed of State, and others behind it. In the midſt of this Field there was a kind of Square Tower of Wood erected, and on the top of it were four little Towers made Taper or Spire-wiſe, every one of them leſs than the other, and all of different heights; and on the top of the ſecond of theſe Towers they placed the Corps. After which all the Perſons of Quality having ſeated themſelves upon ſeveral Scaffolds, erected there for that purpoſe, beheld the Tiltings and Races, that were run about the Wood-pile; the ſight of which was very pleaſant and delightful: For beſides the activity and nimbleneſs of thoſe on Horſe-back, and the ſeveral exerciſes of Foot-men, there

there were many Triumphal Chariots, which they did drive with the greateſt ſwiftneſs imaginable, and then turned them about in their full career. At length theſe Games, which they called *Pyrrhica*, being ended, the new Emperor attended by the chief Magiſtrates, came down from his Scaffold, and all of them having with their Torches ſet this wooden Tower on fire, an Eagle flew out of the top of it; which was the mark of the Divinity of the Deceaſed. For they did perſwade themſelves, that this Eagle carried his Soul into Heaven, there to take his place amongſt the Gods: And from that time forwards they gave him the compellation of *Divus*, which ſignifies a *Demy-God*; they dedicated Temples and Altars, conſecrated Prieſts, and ordained Sacrifices in honour of him.

The Apotheoſis, or Canonization of their Emperors.

* THE *Apotheoſis* of Empreſſes was the ſame in all circumſtances, except that inſtead of an Eagle a Peacock was made uſe of, to mount

* *Val. Max.* The Canonization of Empreſſes.

their Souls to Heaven, as we learn from the Medals of ‖ *Livia*, *Maximina*, *Fauſtina*, *Paulina*, and ſeveral others, with this word on the backſide of them, [*Conſecratio*] which is the ſame with *Apotheoſis*, or *Canonization*.

‖ *Liv. l.* 12.

Canonization of private Perſons.

NEITHER were the Emperors only ranked amongſt the Gods, but private Perſons alſo (as Hiſtory acquaints us) have had the ſame Honours done to them. And without ſpeaking of the two *Gracchi*, to whom the People dedicated a Temple, becauſe they had loſt their lives in their Service; don't we read that the Emperor *Adrian* did the ſame to that beautiful *Antinous*, whom he ſo extravagantly lov'd? For he did not content himſelf to confer on him the honour of being Canonized after his Death; but he alſo built a City, which he called by his Name, thereby to immortalize his Memory.

NOW

NOW a word or two muſt be ſpoken of the Ceremonies uſed at the Burial of the Veſtals. In how great eſteem and veneration theſe Virgins (to whoſe care the keeping of the Sacred Fire was committed) were amongſt the *Romans*, is well known. For they not only render'd them the higheſt marks of honour they could poſſibly expreſs, whenever they chanced to meet with any of them in the Streets; but alſo gave them the firſt places in all Aſſemblies, both in their Temples and Theatres. They had always a Gentleman-Uſher going before them; yea ſo great deference was given to their preſence, that if they accidentally met with a Criminal, led to the place of Execution, he could not then be put to Death; this happy encounter procuring the poor wretch his Pardon.

The common way of Burying their Veſtals.

THERE was alſo the greateſt care imaginable taken in the choice of them: They never conſecrated any to this high charge, but from Six

Six Years of Age to Ten. Moreover they were to be without any blemiſh, neither ſtammering, deaf, crooked, lame, nor maimed; Their Parents alſo were to be free, having never been bound in any ſort of Servitude, or imploy'd in baſe and mean Office; for their Father was to have been either a *Prieſt*, *Augur*, or *Epulo*. The Girl, who had all theſe advantages, was by her Relations conducted to the Porch of the Temple of *Veſta*, where ſhe was received by the High Prieſt, who conſecrated her for the ſpace of thirty Years to the ſervice of that Goddeſs; during which time ſhe was to keep her Virginity inviolable. Men were not ſuffer'd to ſpeak with them, except in the Day-time; and very ſevere puniſhments were decreed againſt thoſe, who entred their Lodgings by Night.

WHEN they happened to Deceaſe in this ſtate of Virginity, they were not only Buried with great Pomp; but had alſo the peculiar privi-

priviledge allowed them (as well as *Heroes*) of having their Tombs within the City.

BUT on the contrary, when any of them was found guilty of breaking her Vow, by incontinency and whoredom, as it was look'd upon as one of the greateſt misfortunes that could befall the City, ſo was ſhe likewiſe ſeverely puniſht for it, by the moſt ſhameful Burial in the World. They laid her all at length on a Bier, as if ſhe had been Dead, cover'd all over with many Cloaths, which were tied faſt and cloſe about her, that ſhe might be neither ſeen, nor heard. And being thus ſwadled about, ſhe was carried from the Temple of *Veſta* to the Gate call'd *Collina*, attended by her Relations and Friends, all in tears; after them came the Prieſts with ſad and dejected looks, without ſpeaking one word. Hard by this Gate, within the Walls, there was a little hillock, and underneath it a very deep Cave, which ſerved for a Grave to the ‖ unchaſt

Manner of Burying unchaſt *Veſtals.*

‖ *Plin. l. 7.*

chaſt *Veſtals.* As ſoon as they were arriv'd at this place, the poor wretch was looſed of her Swadling-cloaths, and nothing left her ſave a great Vail, which cover'd her Head and Face, that ſhe could not be ſeen: Then ſhe was taken down from the Bier, and the High Prieſt having mutter'd a few words with his back towards her, ſhe was taken by the Executioner, and let down by a Ladder to the bottom of this Grot or Cave, where was ſet ready for her a Bed, a burning Lamp and a little Bread, with three Pots full of Water, Milk and Oyl; and having ſtopt the hole, there they let her periſh without any pity; for it was not lawful for them to ſhed their blood: And ſo ſolemn was the Mourning on theſe Days, that none durſt either work, or divert themſelves; neither was any thing to be heard throughout the whole City, but ſighing, cries, and lamentations.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Funerals of the *Perſians.*

IT is matter of aſtoniſhment, conſidering the *Perſians* have ever had the renown of being one of the moſt civilized Nations in the world, that notwithſtanding they ſhould have uſed ſuch barbarous cuſtoms about the Dead * as are ſet down in the Writings of ſome Hiſtorians; and the rather becauſe at this day there are ſtill to be ſeen among them thoſe remains of ‖ Antiquity, which do fully ſatisfie us, that their Tombs have been very magnificent. And yet nevertheleſs, if we will give credit to *Procopius* and *Agathias*, the *Perſians* were never wont to bury their Dead Bodies, ſo far were they from beſtowing any Funeral Honours upon them: But, as theſe Authors tell us, they expoſed them ſtark naked in the open fields, which is

* *Diod. l.* 17.

‖ *Procop. De Bel. Perſ. l.* 1. *Agath. l.* 2.

The *Perſians* expoſed their Dead in the open field inſtead of burying them.

is the greateſt ſhame our Laws do allot to the moſt infamous Criminals, by laying them open to the view of all upon the high ways: Yea in their opinion it was a great unhappineſs, if either Birds or Beaſts did not devour their Carcaſes; and they commonly made an eſtimate of the Felicity of theſe poor Bodies, according as they were ſooner or later made a prey of. Concerning theſe, they reſolved that they muſt needs have been very bad indeed, ſince even the Beaſts themſelves would not touch them; which cauſed an extream ſorrow to their Relations, they taking it for an ill boding to their Family, and an infallible preſage of ſome great misfortune hanging over their heads; for they perſwaded themſelves, that the Souls which inhabited thoſe Bodies being dragg'd into Hell, would not fail to come and trouble them; and that being always accompanied with the Devils, their Tormentors, they would certainly give them a great deal of diſturbance. AND

Their fooliſh Opinions.

AND on the contrary, when theſe Corpſes were preſently devoured, their joy was very great, they enlarged themſelves in praiſes of the Deceaſed; every one eſteemed them undoubtedly happy, and came to congratulate their relations on that account: For as they believed aſſuredly, that they were entered into the *Elyſian* Fields, ſo they were perſwaded, that they would procure the ſame bliſs to all thoſe of their Family.

THEY alſo took a great delight to ſee Skeletons and Bones ſcatered up and down in the fields, whereas we can ſcarcely endure to ſee thoſe of Horſes and Dogs uſed ſo. And theſe remains of Humane Bodies, (the ſight whereof gives us ſo much horror, that we preſently bury them out of our ſight, whenever we find them elſewhere, than in Charnel-houſes or Church-yards) were the occaſion of their greateſt joy; becauſe they concluded from thence the happineſs of thoſe that had

had been devoured, wiſhing after their Death to meet with the like good luck.

Sick Souldiers expos'd to the wild Beaſts.

THE ſame Hiſtorians inform us, that when any private Souldier was ſick in their Armies, and in outward appearance paſt recovery, they carried him to the next Wood or Foreſt, leaving with him only a piece of Bread, a little Water, and a Stick, that he might, as long as he ſhould have any ſtrength, defend himſelf from the wild Beaſts, which moſt commonly devour'd * theſe poor wretches; and if it chanced that any one of them eſcaped, and came back to his own houſe, all the people ran away from him, as if they had ſeen ſome Ghoſt or Devil; and did not ſuffer him to converſe with any body, till after he had been purified and expiated by the Prieſts; as if having been ſo near Death, he were thereby (according to their opinion) become unfit to live any longer; for they ſuppoſed that he muſt needs have had great converſe with

* *Herodot. l.3.*

with *Dæmons*, ſince notwithſtanding his extream ſickneſs he had been able to defend himſelf againſt the wild Beaſts, and recover'd his ſtrength, without any man's help or aſſiſtance.

AND howſoever barbarous and inhumane theſe cuſtoms may ſeem to us, yet were * they amongſt them ſo ſtrictly obſerv'd, that they condemned to Death one of their moſt Illuſtrious Captains called *Seoſez*, only becauſe he had interred his Wife; Burial amongſt them having (as they ſaid) always been contrary to the Religion of their Country. And for further confirmation of what hath been ſaid, the Hiſtorian *Menander* ‖ aſſures us, that one of the Principal Conditions in the Treaty of Peace, concluded between the Emperor *Juſtian*, and *Coſrhoez*, one of their Kings, was that the *Chriſtians* of his Kingdom ſhould be permitted to bury their Dead.

* *Juſt. l. 1 9*

Expoſing of Dead Bodies moſt ſtrictly obſerved by the *Perſians.*

‖ *Menand. in Excerpt. de Legat.*

NEITHER did they leſs abominate the Burning of the Dead, which

Burning of the Dead abhorred by them.

which was the cauſe, why in the beginning of that Monarchy, King *Cambyſes* * had well nigh made his People to riſe in Rebellion againſt him, for having caus'd the body of *Amaſis* King of *Egypt*, to be digg'd out of his Grave, and afterward Burnt with great pomp and ceremony; they openly declaring, that this was to give a very dangerous example to Poſterity; ſince inſtead of being a Conſervator of ‖ the Laws of the Land, which did not allow either of Burials or Burning, he was the firſt that brake them.

* *Juſt. l. 19.*

‖ *Strab. l. 15. Cic. l. Tuſcul. l. 1.*

HOWEVER (not to diſpute the veracity of the forementioned Hiſtorians) certain it is, that this inhumane cuſtom of expoſing the Dead was never long in uſe amongſt the *Perſians:* For beſides that ſtately piece of Antiquity, call'd the Forty Pillars, whereof the magnificent Remains are ſeen in theſe our days, in the very ſame place, where the famous *Perſepolis* once ſtood; we read in *Cicero*'s *Tuſculan* Queſtions,

Burying in uſe alſo amongſt them.

Queſtions, as likewiſe in *Strabo* and *Herodotus*, that in time paſt theſe People were wont to cover the Corpſes with Earth only, without any other ceremony or expence; or elſe (after they had covered them over with Wax, to preſerve their ſhape and figure) ſhut 'em up ſometimes in Caves and hollow places of Rocks, and ſometimes in Tombs. And *Xenophon* * puts us out of all doubt concerning this matter, when he tells us, that *Cyrus* expreſly forbad his Children to put up his Corps in any rich Coffin, but barely to commit it to the ground. The ſame thing is confirmed to us by *Juſtin* and *Quintus Curtius*, ſpeaking of old *Darius* Son to *Hyſtaſpes*, and Father to *Xerxes*, who (ſays he) having ſubdu'd the *Carthaginians*, aboliſh'd the *Cuſtom* they had of *Burning* their Dead; and inſtead thereof ordain'd *That* of *Burials*. The other (*viz. Quintus Curtius*) in the exact Deſcription he gives of the Defeat of the latter *Darius*, and

* *Xenoph.* l. 2.

the Conqueſt of his Country by *Alexander* the Great, tells us, that this incomparable Conqueror having totally routed and deſtroy'd the *Perſian Army* at the Pillars of *Amanus*, upon the News he received, that the King was kill'd there, preſently diſpatch'd *Leonatus*, one of his principal Courtiers, to his Mother and Wife, to condole with, and comfort them; and that theſe Princeſſes in the trouble and confuſion wherein they were, by reaſon of their extream affliction, thinking at firſt that he was ſent thither to diſpatch them, fell down at his feet, and with tears beſought him, not to ſlay them, before they had buried the Body of that poor unhappy Prince. Which Opinion is the more confirmed, becauſe *Alexander* having afterwards deliver'd *Beſſus*, who had kill'd *Darius*, into theſe Princeſſes hands, they thought they could not inflict upon him a more cruel puniſhment, than by cauſing his Body to be cut into a thouſand pieces,

pieces, and ſcattered abroad in the Fields. We alſo learn from *Appian* and *Plutarch*, that *Artaxerxes* having made the Chief of the *Grecian* Commanders his priſoners, who had taken the Party of his Brother *Cyrus* againſt him, caus'd them to dye a ſhameful death, and expoſed their Corpſes to the devouring Beaſts. So that we muſt needs conclude, that at leaſt in thoſe days the caſting abroad of Dead Bodies was accounted a Puniſhment, and not an Honour amongſt them.

Their Mourning.

DURING the time of their Mourning they wore cloaths of a brown colour; and not only the Men and Women were ſhaved, and had their hair cut off, but generally all their Beaſts and Cattle were ſhorn too. But as they have in theſe latter Ages, embrac'd the Law of *Mahumet*, ſo have they altered their Cuſtoms and Ceremonies. They can bury no Body, except they have firſt demanded, and obtain'd the King's Leave for it; or if they be

Ceremonies of the *Perſians* at this day.

too far from the Court, the Lord Lieutenant's, or Principal Magiſtrates; which asking of Leave is but a Formality, it being never denied. Aſſoon as this is granted, if the Party be never ſo little conſiderable, they carry ſome Standards before his Corps, which are followed by Saddle-horſes, charged with their Arms, *viz.* Swords, Darts, Arrows and Turbants. Thoſe that lead theſe Horſes are naked to the Waſt. Then come their Friends, who beſides their nakedneſs, give themſelves large gaſhes, out of which the bloud runs from all parts. They all march before the Body, round about which their Prieſts are, ſinging Dirges, or Prayers for the Dead, which are interrupted and blended with the ſad lamentations of the deceaſed parties Relations, who follow after the Corps, at the head of a great throng of people, who have all their Turbants untied, and hanging looſe on their ſhoulders. In this order they proceed,

till

till they come to a River, or any other place where much water is, and there waſh the Body, having firſt placed it under a Tent. Then they march on towards the place of Burial, which is moſt commonly a *Moſquee*, in caſe the Perſon deceaſed be of Quality, or if of a low rank, the next Church-yard. As for their Kings, they are all intombed by themſelves, in a particular *Moſquee*, which is covered without with green Tiles, and within with plates of Silver; their Tombs being ranged all along the wall in a moſt curious order, and over-laid with the moſt rich Silk, Stuffs, and cloth of Gold, that can be had.

CHAP. V.

The *Funerals* of the *Turks*.

HAVING juſt now ſpoken of the *Mahometans*, with reſpect to their Ceremonies about the Dead, we ſhall now (to avoid confuſion) proceed to the Funerals of the *Turks*, who are the principal Sect among them.

Their bewailing of the Dead.

IT is not a hard matter with them to know how many dye in a City; For as ſoon as any one is Dead, the Women begin with loud cries to bewail them, and by this ſad noiſe they gather their Neighbours together, who continue the ſame doleful Lamentations, relating with tears in their Eyes, the good and noble Actions of the Deceaſed.* And theſe Lamentations which may be heard very far off, are continu'd to the very Place where the Corps is deſign'd to be buried: Which mourning

* *Thevet's Voyage.*

ning ſolemnity, ſome do recommence at the Years end, and ſo continue the ſame by intervals for ſeveral Years together, proportionably to the Love they bear to the Party deceaſed. They carry alſo many good things, and varieties of Meats to the Grave, which they diſtribute to thoſe that paſs by, that they may mourn with them; and do hire Weeping-women, to make this Ceremony the more doleful.

Their way of Burying the Dead.

AS to their way of Burying, it is no leſs ſingular. They waſh the Corps, and ſhave all its Hair off; Then they wrap it in a Linnen-cloth, which they have beſprinkled with Soap-ſuds, and afterwards with Roſe-water; and thus lay it down ſtretched out at length in a Coffin, (which they expoſe to the view of all comers, in the Entry of their Houſe) not lying on its Back, or Belly, but on its right ſide, with the Face turned to the *South*, as if looking towards *Mecha*; a City, which they have a great veneration for;

for; it being the Native Place of their Prophet. This Coffin is cover'd with a Canopy of divers Colours, according to the different Rank or Quality of the Perſon. If it be for a Souldier, it is red; if for a Prieſt, green; and if the Party was neither of theſe, then they make uſe of a black covering.

IT is likewiſe to be obſerv'd, that when they wrap their Dead in a Winding-ſheet, they let their Feet & Heads be at liberty, that they may the better, and with the more eaſe kneel down, when the Angels come to examine them; leaving them a lock or tuft of Hair on the top of their Heads, that the Angels, who make them kneel whilſt they interrogate them, may by that Lock lay hold of them: For they are of opinion, that as ſoon as the Dead is in the Grave, his Soul comes into his Body again, and that two Angels in a diſmal, horrid and frightful ſhape, preſenting themſelves to him, ask him theſe Queſtions, *Who is thy God?*

Their fooliſh Fancies touching the Examen of Souls.

God? What is thy Religion? Who is thy Prophet? To which he ought to anſwer thus; *My God is the true God; My Religion is the true Religion, and my Prophet is MAHUMET.* This is the only anſwer, that can ſecure him at this pinch; and the very ſame (as they ſay) which all thoſe, who have liv'd well, do return to the Angels. Now as ſoon as he hath given this anſwer, a lovely Creature is brought to him (which are his good Deeds) and remains with him, to comfort and delight him until Doom's Day, when they ſhall both enter into Paradiſe.

BUT if the dead Perſon know himſelf guilty, he is ſo poſſeſt with fear, that he cannot give ſo juſt and ſatisfactory an Anſwer; and thereupon is preſently ſeverely puniſh'd; for thoſe black Angels (as they ſay) ſtrike him with a fiery Club; and that with ſuch violence, that the fierceneſs of the ſtroak makes the ground to ſink under him, where he

he is ſo extremely preſs'd and ſqueezed, that all the Milk he hath ſuck'd from his Nurſe, runs out through his Noſe. After all this comes to him an ugly Creature (which is nothing elſe but his evil actions) and abides with him, to torment him until the Day of Judgment, when both of them are to be caſt into Hell, there to endure greater Puniſhments. Wherefore, to the end the deceaſed may be delivered from theſe Black Angels, their Friends, that come to weep and lament at their Graves, do encourage them, crying continually with a loud voice, *Be not afraid, but anſwer boldly.*

Their fooliſh Opinions concerning Good and Bad.

ANOTHER diſtinction no leſs ridiculous than this, do they make between good and wicked Perſons. They ſay, that at the day of Doom * *Mahumet* ſhall come to the Valley of *Jehoſhaphat*, to ſee whether *JESUS CHRIST* ſhall judge Men in Righteouſneſs; and that after Judgment paſt, he ſhall be chang'd into a white Sheep, in whoſe Fleece all

* *Georg. ep. rer. Turc. c. 5.*

all the *Turks* ſhall be hidden, as ſo many ſmall worms; and that thoſe who ſhall fall off at his ſhaking of himſelf, ſhall be damn'd; but that ſuch as ſhall ſtick cloſe to him, ſhall be ſav'd; becauſe he'l carry them along with him into Paradiſe.

Their attending the Corps to the Grave.

AS for what concerns their manner of accompanying the Corps to the Grave, it is very plain and ſimple. They carry it out of the Houſe, the Head foremoſt; the * Prieſts go before it, ſinging Hymns or Prayers; and the Relations and Friends follow after, bitterly wailing and lamenting. At their return, they feaſt the Prieſts, and reward them with a Piece of Money, if the Party deceas'd was rich; but if he were poor, they go through the Streets and other publick Places, and beg of the People what's due to them on this account.

* *Lonicer. Chron. Turc. lib. 2.*

The Graves of great Perſons, and the manner of their Burials.

AS for great Perſonages, they differently make choice of their Sepulchres, according to their various inclinations and fancies: Some of 'em

'em cauſe themſelves to be buried in curious and pleaſant Gardens, planted with abundance of Trees, and embelliſhed with * Flowers; which Gardens they encompaſs about with ſtrong Walls, that no Beaſts may enter them, walk over their Graves, or annoy and defile them with their dung; this ſeeming an inſufferable thing to them, even after their death, as if they ſuppoſed themſelves to be ſenſible in their Graves. Beſides, they build great Alms-houſes near the place where they intend to be buried, and bequeath large Revenues to the ſame, for the relief and maintenance of the Poor.

* *Leunclav. Hiſt. Muſul.*

OTHERS order their Coffins to be carried into ‖ Moſquees, where they are placed on the ground, cover'd with their Canopy and Turbant, with ſeveral Lamps, continually burning about them. After this manner are the Graves of all their Emperors moſt commonly adorned, and particularly that of *Mahumet* himſelf at *Medina*. True it is, that

‖ *Bellon. 3. Singul. Chron. Turc. l. 2.*

that his Coffin has no *Alcorans* faſtned to it, becauſe he being lookt upon as their Prophet, they don't think it neceſſary to pray for his Soul, ſince it is he that ſaves others; * though thoſe Books are always affixed to all other Tombs, for the convenience of them that come to pray there; and ſome of theſe are continually attended by people, who out of the ſaid Books read prayers by turns, both day and night; for which they are paid out of a large revenue the deceaſed Prince has appointed for that purpoſe, to the end the Prayers for the Reſt of his Soul might never ceaſe.

* *Elias Grammat.*

AS to the common ſort, holes are digg'd for them in their publick Burying-places, wherein they being laid down, and cover'd over with Earth, two ſmall Pillars, or two pieces of Wood, are * erected upon their Graves; the one being ſet at their feet, and the other at their head. But there are ſome, who being deſirous to diſtinguiſh themſelves

The place and manner of Burying the common ſort.

* *Bar. Dec. 1. l. 1.*

ſelves from others, and able to be at ſome coſt, have Tombs made for them, much after the faſhion of Altars, in the ſaid publick places.

Their reſpect for all manner of Graves.

AND ſo great is the Veneration they have, not only for their own Sepulchres, but thoſe alſo of all other Nations, that the robbing, or violating of any of them, is held amongſt them the higheſt Crime a man can commit: ‖ As we may plainly ſee in *Thevet*'s Coſmography, who tells us, that one of their *Ottomans*, called *Selim*, in his Expedition againſt *Egypt*, from whence he return'd Victorious, and Maſter of the whole Country, caus'd ſeveral of his own Souldiers to be ſeverely puniſhed in *Syria*, only for having open'd the Grave of a *Jewiſh* Phyſician, upon the hopes of finding ſome treaſure there; fourteen of which were hang'd; three empaled, and the reſt put to death by divers Torments.

‖ *Georg. ep. rer. Turc. c. 7.*

Several inſtances to this purpoſe.

BESIDES, the ſame Emperor ſeeing many Graves of the *Chriſtian*

* *Christian* Princes in *Jerusalem*, who under *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* did recover the *Holy Land* from the hands of the *Turks*, and who had been the cause of so great defeats they had received in several bloudy Battels, did nevertheless, under great penalties, prohibit the touching, or disturbing of them: *For* (said he) *all Graves, even those of our Enemies, are esteemed in our Religion as Sacred things.* In short, they are so tender and nice in this Point, that they will not suffer any body on horseback to ride through their Church-yards. Which was the reason why *Monsieur de Villamonté* hardly escaped being ston'd to death in the same City; because he had rid through a Place where some poor *Turks* were formerly Buried; the Place being still accounted Sacred by them, though there was not the least sign of any Grave there.

* *Eulog.* l. 1.

To be depriv'd of Burial accounted a great misfortune amongst them.

MOREOVER, they account it one of the greatest misfortunes that can possibly befal them, to be depriv'd

depriv'd of Burial. Thus we read, that that famous General *Zubiemzar* (who continued the ſiege of *Conſtantinople* for ſeven years together) being ſhot with an Arrow, and finding himſelf ready to give up the Ghoſt, charged his Souldiers couragiouſly to continue the Attaque, till they had laid his Body ſo deep in the ground, that his Foes might not be able to diſcover, and find out the place where he was Buried. And it was upon the ſame account, that *Solyman* dying in the territories of the *Chriſtians*, into which he was advanced with a potent Army, deſigning to ſpoil and make havock of them, ſtrictly commanded his Captains to convey his Body into his own Dominions, that the *Chriſtians* might not offer any injury to his Tomb.

BUT what does fill me with greater wonder, is the reſpect which one of their Princes, *Noradine* by Name, had for the Sepulchre of *Baudouin*, the Third King of *Jeruſalem*;

lem; for he being dead at *Beryte*, and his Body with great pomp carried from thence to the Burying place of his Anceſtors, ſome adviſed him to take that opportunity, to invade the *Chriſtian* Countries, and avenge himſelf of the many affronts he had receiv'd from them. But ſo far was he from acquieſcing in their advice, which ſeem'd very promiſing and advantageous, that he reproached them with the little reſpect and conſideration they had for the Dead; adding, that for his part he had rather loſe the Empire of the World, than diſturb the Grave of any one whatſoever.

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CHAP. VI.

Funerals of the *Chineſes.*

NEVER were any People in the World ſo nice and ſcrupulous in this Matter, as the *Chineſes:* For * they not only (every one of them) keep in their houſes a Book containing all the Rites and Ceremonies uſed at their Burials, which they read over as oft as any one is Dead, to the end they may the more exactly pay every the leaſt punctilio of Duty and Honour due to the Deceaſed; and rather love to exceed what is preſcribed in the ſaid Ceremonial, than to omit any the leaſt circumſtance therein ſet down: But though their Mourning be very long and tedious, it laſting no leſs than three years, and very troubleſome, as tying them to the ſtrict obſervation of moſt ſevere Laws; yet none

* *Pint. Voyag.*

Their mourning.

none amongſt them has, to this day, ever complain'd of their rigour; but on the contrary, they think themſelves moſt happy, if they can but return their Parents an acknowledgment ſuitable to the pains they have taken for them in their infancy; in bewailing them the ſpace of three whole years, becauſe during the ſame term of time they took ſo much care of their education, in their moſt tender and helpleſs years. They cut off part of their Hair, and dreſs themſelves in a courſe linnen-cloth; they are never ſeen at publick Sports, and ſolemn Rejoycings; they ceaſe from proſecuting their Adverſaries, and ſuing for Judgment againſt them; and if they be Magiſtrates, they lay down their Office, during the whole time of their Mourning; and he would be eſteem'd a moſt baſe and infamous perſon, who ſhould omit the leaſt of theſe circumſtances. Beſides, Children are not permitted to marry, before they are out of Mourn-

ing; and if any during this time contract a marriage in private, and it come to the Justice's knowledge, besides the fine laid upon them, the Marriage is declar'd void. Neither is it lawful for those that are married to lie with their Wives, there being penalties appointed by the Law against such Women, as are found with Child within the foresaid interval. In short, all manner of rejoycing is, during all that time, so strictly forbidden, that they who ride on horseback are not permitted to use a Collar of Bells, wherewith they adorn their Horses, though they be so much in fashion there among Travellers, that neither rich nor poor do ever ride without them.

* *Marin. relat.* *AS for the Fathers mourning for their Children; Brothers for Brothers, and Nephews for Uncles, it does not last so long. But the mourning of a Husband for his Wife, or Wife for her Husband, is as long and tedious, as is that fore-

mentioned

mentioned of the Children for their Parents.

THE firſt Duty they pay to their Deceaſed Relation, after they have cloſed his Eyes, is to furniſh two Tables with all ſorts of Meats, and the beſt Wine; one whereof they ſet near the Bed, on which the Dead is lying, his Kinſmen and Friends diſcourſing him, and inviting him to eat and drink with them, as if he were ſtill alive; and the other in the Anti-chamber, which is no leſs well deck'd and provided, for the entertainment of thoſe that come to condole with them. But true it is, that theſe Viands that are equally dainty, are eaten in a very different manner. Some hours after the Table ſpread for the Relations of the Deceaſed is taken away, little of the Meat being touch'd; becauſe theſe poor Creatures, in the midſt of their affliction, and at the ſight of ſo ſad and doleful an object, find more eaſe and ſatisfaction in weeping, than in eating; whereas Feaſts for the Deceaſed.

the other, though plentifully and ſplendidly furniſh'd, is ſcarce ſufficient for the Gueſts; who for the moſt part are ſmell-feaſts, and good-fellows that repair thither, rather to make good cheer, and ſtuff their bellies, than to expreſs any ſorrow for, or ſhare in the affliction of the Family.

THEY keep the ſame Feaſts alſo, though they be far from their own Country, as ſoon as they are informed of the Death of any of their near Relations: Upon the firſt news they receive of it, they cauſe the Name of the Dead to be written on a board; to which they addreſs themſelves, and ſpeak, as if the Body were preſent, and make all the haſte they can to recover home, in order to acquit themſelves of their Duty. And in caſe it happen, that for a long time they receive no news from their Relations abroad, inſomuch as they have reaſon to ſuſpect their death, if after they have adviſed with Soothſayers, and made all

poſſible

poſſible enquiries, they can't procure their Bodies (being Dead) then they make an Image of Plaſter, and pay to it the ſame Honours, which they would have paid to the Corps it ſelf.

Their Singing and Praying for the Dead.

AS ſoon as theſe Feaſts are over, the *Bonzes*, which are their Prieſts, are call'd in, to rehearſe the uſual Prayers, which they do in ſo ſad and mournful a tune, and withal ſo extreamly harſh and frightful, that one would rather think it to be the howling of Devils, than the ſinging of Prieſts. This done, they appoint the day and hour of the Burial; after which, every body being withdrawn, they leave the Corps in the hands of ſuch, who are to take care of preparing it, in order to its Interment.

Their way of Burying Corpſes.

THESE do waſh it with ſweet waters, dreſs it in his fineſt Cloaths, and put it up in a Coffin, * with ſeveral precious things, which are given to the Deceaſed by his Relations. And to the end that neither

**Nic. Trig. de rcb ſing.*

neither Devils, nor Men ſhould dare meddle with them, they alſo put into the Coffin ſome horrid and frightful ſhapes, which they ſay are very ſure Guardians, and ſcarecrows againſt all manner of Robbers. How great Riches are conſum'd and ſpent in theſe Funerals, is almoſt incredible; for beſides that theſe Coffins are often of Gold or Silver, many Jewels and precious Stones of great value are together encloſed with them.

Their Superſtition about the time of their Burials.

* *Idem ibid.*

NOR do they ever bury their Dead in thoſe Years where the laſt number is the ſame with that of the Year of their birth. For example, * if the Party were born in one thouſand ſix hundred and five, or fifteen if you will, and he happen to dye in the Year one thouſand ſix hundred thirty five, forty five, or in any of a like denomination; they keep the Corps all that Year over, being in continual expectation, that as his Soul came firſt into his Body in a Year of that number, ſo may it the ſame

ſame Year return and be re-united again with it. And this fooliſh belief doth ſo far prevail with them, that when ever it happens ſo, they dare not inter the Body but the year after.

Their fooliſh fancies touching the return of the Dead.

WITH a like ridiculous and vain Opinion do they entertain their fancies, concerning the return of the Dead into their Houſes once a Year, which they imagine comes to paſs in the very laſt Night of the Year; and to the end their deceas'd Friends and Relations may, without any more ado enter-in as ſoon as they come, they leave their Doors open * all that Night. In the mean time they make their Beds ready for them, and ſet a Baſon full of Water in the Chamber (to waſh their feet) and whatſoever elſe they may have occaſion for. Thus with great ſtilneſs and ſilence they expect their coming till Midnight, when ſuppoſing them arrived, they complement them, by telling them how glad they are of their Company; and there-

* *Pint. relat.*

thereupon light ſeveral Wax-Tapers, that are placed on an Altar, which they have for that uſe; on which they burn a compoſition of ſweet-ſcented Drugs, with a thouſand like Perfumes; then they with great reverence bow themſelves to them, praying them to remember their Children, Nephews or other Relations that Year; that by their means they may obtain of the Gods, health, ſtrength, and a long and proſperous Life, with plenty of worldly Goods. Now though this may ſeem a ridiculous cuſtom, yet the neglecting or omitting of the ſame, is reck'ned amongſt them a moſt high and unpardonable crime; and of which, if any ſhould be guilty, they would not fail to lye under a continual apprehenſion, that the Dead would ſome time or other avenge that impiety, and ſeverely puniſh them for the ſame.

BUT to return from this digreſſion; we'l now ſpeak of the end and upſhot of their Funeral Ceremonies.

nies. The day on which the Corps is to be Buried, they early in the Morning give publick notice of the Hour, when it is to be carried to its Grave, to have the greater concourſe of People to attend it. * In the front of all this Proceſſion, march Colours and Standards, which are followed by Men playing on Inſtruments, ſome on Drums, others on Ho-boys, others on Bag-pipes, and others on Trumpets; after theſe come up a Company of Dancers, who are dreſt in mighty ſtrange and antick habits, like Stage-players, leaping and dancing all the way in a very ridiculous manner. After this third Company, comes another, that is no leſs ſingular in its kind: They are a number of Men, armed with ſeveral ſorts of Weapons, ſome with Symetars, others with large Shields and Bucklers, and others with Clubs, whoſe maſſy end is ſtuck full of Iron-ſpikes; theſe are ſeconded by others that carry Fire-arms, which they continually diſcharge; and the Prieſts, who

The manner of their attending the Corps to the Grave.

* *Didac. relat.*

who come next after them, do cry and bawl as loud as ever they can; which noiſe though very great, is ſtill encreas'd by the ſad and ſonorous lamentations both of the Relations and People attending; inſomuch, that if there ever was a mad concert, this may well be call'd ſo; beſides that, this antick mixture of Players, Dancers, Souldiers, Muſicians and Mourners, makes it the moſt ridiculous ſhow in the World.

AS to the Bodies of the Rich, they are moſt commonly carried into the Country; every one of them making choice of a place of Burial for himſelf in his own ground; by reaſon they hope to enjoy their Eſtates in another life, and accordingly take poſſeſſion of the ſame, by their being Buried there. Upon which account it is, that when a Grave is once made in any Land or Poſſeſſion, the Kindred of the Dead are, from that time forward, deveſted of the liberty to diſpoſe of it to others. And as during their Lives they

they ſpend much time and money towards the preparing of thoſe Graves, which after their Death are yet further inrich'd and embelliſh'd by their Friends and Relations, ſo are they the moſt magnificent and ſtately ſtructures that can ever be ſeen.

Fooliſh and ſuperfluous Expence about their Dead.

BESIDES all this, the Relations of the Dead, do put themſelves to other great expences, to * ſupply them with goods in the other world. In the midſt of ſome publick place they erect vaſt Buildings, whoſe Fabrick is both curious and coſtly; and having written the Name of the Deceaſed upon them, they burn them to aſhes, being of that belief, that the ſame paſs to the other world, and that their departed Friends take poſſeſſion of them, as if they were made over to 'em by a Letter of Attorney.

* *Id. ibid.*

IT remains yet, that we ſpeak of two ſorts of Burials which are in uſe among them, *viz.* of the meaner ſort, and of their Kings.

The

The former of which are interred in publick Burying-places, without much ceremony or expence, their belief being, that they muſt be poor in the other World, as they have been in this.

Peculiar Ceremonies us'd at the Death of their Kings. * *Marin. relat.*

AS for their Kings, though they be interr'd according to the way preſcribed by the Religion of the Country, yet there are particular Ceremonies obſerved * for them, which are not us'd to any other, though they be of the higheſt rank. Aſſoon as they have given up the Ghoſt, they are with a great deal of pomp and ſplendor, laid on a Bed of State, placed in the midſt of the great Hall of their Palace; for beſides that the ſaid Bed is made of the moſt rare and coſtly wood, it is all lin'd and garniſhed within with cloth of Gold, whoſe edges hang down to the ground. Then comes his Succeſſor accompanied with his Brothers (if he has any) all of them cloathed in Sackcloth, and girded with Ropes, with a ſmall twiſted Cord

Cord about their heads, who after they have, with humble obeiſance, paid their reverence to the Corps, and by their weeping and dejected countenances, declar'd how ſenſibly they are afflicted for the Death of ſo great, and ſo good a Prince, they preſently withdraw, and cauſe their Hair to be cut off, by one of their chief *Mandarins*, or Courtiers.

IN this mourning habit they return again the next day to the Palace, where having a ſecond time, in the ſame manner as before, paid their duty to the Corps, they tranſfer it themſelves into a portable houſe, where they lay the Coffin on a Table gilded all over; round about which are ſet ſeveral pots of Flowers, that together with a great number of Cenſers, and Perfuming-pans, exhale a ſweet ſcent all over the place, wherein nothing is wanting, that may render it every way admirable; there not being ought elſe to be ſeen, but the dazling luſtre of Gold, Silver, and precious Stones,

intermixed with the light of many thousands of Virgin-wax-Tapers.

Their Funeral procession; and attendance.

THEN the Funeral procession is appointed in order to the burying of the Corps. But before it commenceth, the Princes call to them three Persons of the highest Quality in the whole Kingdom, whom they chuse to attend the Body to the Grave (because they cannot do it themselves) and take their Oaths of them, that they shall not only discharge their duty therein, with all possible Glory and magnificence, but withal hide the place so carefully, that none but those of the Royal Family may ever come to the knowledge of it. Which Custom of concealing the Sepulchres of their Kings, is by them observed, because they apprehend the immense Treasures they bury with them, would otherwise be stoln away.

THUS having by the solemn Oath of these Commissioners, provided against that fear, they cause the signal of the procession to be given

ven by the confuſed noiſe of a great number of Drums. And the Souldiers of the Guard, both Muſqueteers and Halberdeers, to the number of fifteen thouſand, every one of them clad in a long dark blue Gown, with a Cap of the ſame, rank themſelves into rows, making a lane down to the River, where the Corps is to imbark; for commonly the Bodies of their Soveraigns are tranſmitted into remote Countries. The ways being thus cleared of people, and open for a free paſſage, the Funeral March begins, with a Chariot charged with a great Column, a-round which the King's Life, Age, and Virtues, with the moſt remarkable of his Exploits, are written in Gold and Silver Letters, and on the top of it three Globes of Gold and Silver are ſet, one upon another. After this comes another Chariot, in a manner all of Gold, which carries the imboſſed picture of a City. Then advances a third, that bears the

Royal Throne, all of Gold and Ivory, whereon is laid the Crown of the late King. But all these Machines, though marvellous rich and costly, are not to be compar'd with that *Mausoleum*, or portable House, in which the Corps is laid: Immediately before which, advances a great number of Musicians, who, without singing, play in concert to the sighs and lamentations of the Assembly; on either side of it, the Eunuchs, and other chief Officers of the Crown do attend; and the new King, with the Princes his Brothers, dressed as you have heard before, walk after bare-footed, having false Hair on their heads, and counterfeit white Beards, with a Pilgrims Staff in their hand, as if they intended to signifie by this poor equipage, that in losing their King they had lost all. The Queens and other Ladies of the Court, to the number of eight or nine hundred, clad all in White, with Vails of the same colour, accompany them, together

gether with more than a thouſand *Mandarins*, who have a courſe linnen-cloth careleſly wrapt about their body, much like a hair-cloth; or elſe are apparel'd with a covering made of barks or leaves of Trees. And laſt of all, four thouſand Armed men bring up the rear of this great and pompous Proceſſion.

AS ſoon as the Body arrives at the River, it is ſaluted with the diſcharging of the Guns from three Gallies, which attend there on purpoſe, and with great volleys of ſhot from the band of Muſqueteers. The chief of which, called the Galley Royal, that is appointed to carry the Corps (beſides that a great part of it is covered with hangings of Cloth of Gold) has all its Rowing-benches decked with the moſt rich *Perſian* Carpets, and the Rowers in the moſt ſplendid garb imaginable, of divers colours. As for the other two, whereof the one carries the City, and the other the *Mauſoleum*, they are both gilt all over without

and within, from the Stern to the Prow.

AS ſoon as theſe Gallies are put off, from ſhore, the King and all his Court vying to out-do one another, in demonſtrations of the affliction they conceive for loſing ſo great, and ſo good a Maſter, follow them with their Eyes, as far as they can, with all poſſible expreſſions of the exceſſive ſorrow; and when they are got out of ſight, they return to the Palace, from whence the King iſſues out his Proclamation for the ſolemnizing of a general Mourning throughout the Kingdom; which Mourning laſts three whole Years, during which time no body dares, either dance, ſing, or play upon any Inſtrument.

SOME time after, the King, to diſcharge himſelf of the obligation of a Preſent he ows his Predeceſſor, cauſes the repreſentation of a whole Kingdom, or of an Army encamped under their Tents, or of a large City only, to be erected in the midſt of

of ſome large place; and after having ſpent abundance of riches about the building and furniſhing of theſe Machines, they are by his order ſet on fire, to the end his Father or Predeceſſor may receive and enjoy them in the other World.

AND what is yet more ridiculous in this ceremony, is, that before he thus fooliſhly cauſe the aforeſaid Machines to be ſet on fire, he formally buys the ſame of ſome perſons that are on purpoſe appointed to be within them. The particular circumſtances of which take as follows: The King advanceth to the door, and by his order, a Muſician delivers himſelf with a tunable ſinging voice to this purpoſe. *There was ſome time ago a moſt rich, wiſe, and Puiſſant King, who having laid down his life in this World, to enjoy Immortality in the other, and conſequently deveſted himſelf of all his Eſtates and Dominions, in favour of his Children, without reſerving any thing to himſelf of all thoſe immenſe*

Eſtates he poſſeſs'd here: And it being nois'd abroad, that he is now ſolitary and wandring in a ſtrange Country, without Souldiers to guard him, without Horſes or Elephants, wherewithal to defend himſelf; Without a Train and Equipage ſuitable to his Grandeur, and without a Palace for the place of his abode; the report of this ſumptuous Building has drawn us hither, with intention to purchaſe it: If therefore he be willing to part with it, whom it belongs to, he will very much conſult his own intereſt in ſo doing, we being reſolved to ſpare nothing to procure it, that thereby we may expreſs the love we have ſtill for our deceaſed Father. To which the people that are within anſwer in a like muſical tone, that they are fully ſatisfied with the offer; and thereupon the price being agreed on both hands, the Prince makes his entrance into, and takes poſſeſſion of it, in the Name of his Father. After this placing himſelf in the Tent Royal, if it be an Army encamped; or in the chief City, if

if it be a Kingdom; or in the Palace, if it be only a City; he there, together with his whole Court, hear kneeling the recital of the old King's Life, which being ended, he cauſes the Machines to be ſet on fire, amidſt the confuſed noiſe of Trumpets, and other Inſtruments.

AS for the magnificence of their Graves, it is ſuch, as cannot be ſufficiently deſcribed. Nothing like or near it, has not only ever been ſeen in * *Europe*, or recorded in Hiſtory; but it is even hard to imagine what we are told concerning it, by thoſe that have ſeen them. *Anthony de Faria*, a *Portugueſe*, who in his Voyages accidentally diſcover'd and landed in this concealed Iſle, where their Royal Tombs are, has left us a moſt ſtupendious account of them. He calls the Iſle *Calempluy*, which he ſays lies at the mouth of a large River, where it diſembogues it ſelf into the Sea, in the extream parts of *China* Eaſtward; being a place, which by rocks is made, in a manner,

The magnificence of their Graves.

* *Pint. Voyag.*

ner, inacceſſible, and which the lofty Cliffs, that ſurround it on every ſide, do conceal from the Eye of thoſe that ſail by it; the ſwift current of the River contributing alſo very much to its ſecrecy. He adds, that that Iſle is but a mile round, and is environ'd on the water-ſide with a wall of Jaſper, flanked with a rampart of Earth; on the top of which there is a Walk, or Gallery faced with Baluſters of bright ſhining Copper, with ſeveral intermixed Pillars of the ſame Metal, and behind them, at a convenient diſtance, the figures of abundance of Animals of molten Copper, almoſt of all the kinds that can be found, which make one ſide, as the Baluſters the other, of a moſt curious and delightful Gallery. Within the precincts of which, you ſee nothing but little Groves of Orange-trees, and other the moſt delightful and ſweet-ſmelling Trees, with ſeveral Temples and Hermitages.

IT

IT is in theſe Temples and Hermitages they depoſite the Bones of their Kings, and other Princes of the Royal Bloud; which are built not only of Marble, Porphyre, and Jaſper, but with variety of other Stones, which with us are accounted precious, both becauſe of their beauty and rarity. Neither are their Coffins leſs rich; the matter whereof they are made, being Gold or Silver, beſides the vaſt Treaſures incloſed in them. Theſe Coffins are always attended by Hermits, who continually pray for the Dead, being themſelves perſons of the higheſt Quality; for none are ſent thither, but great Lords, who ſeeing themſelves arrived to a great Age, are glad to retire, and end their days at their Princes Graves; thereby hoping to anticipate their favour, and procure for themſelves to be their Courtiers in the other World, as they have been in this. There are alſo many young Gentlemen, who by ſome miſdemeanours, being

being fallen into disgrace at Court, take for a great favour to have the liberty of going, and retiring themselves for ever in these delightful Hermitages, where they make it their business to supplicate those Illustrious Deceased, to make their peace with the King, that they be re-admitted to his Grace and favour,

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Funerals of the *Americans.*

THE Inhabitants of *America* always took a particular care to bury their Dead, becauſe they believed, that on that Ceremony depended the reſt of the Soul departed. They were all of them generally perſwaded of the Souls immortality; though to this truth (which Nature taught them) they added a thouſand Fables of their own invention.

THEY fancied almoſt as many different places for the Dead, as there were different kinds of deaths, as well as different ſorts of crimes. Their fooliſh Opinions concerning Souls.

* For example, they were of opinion, that good and honeſt Men, as thoſe that had been kill'd in Battels, or had devoted themſelves to be a Sacrifice in honour of their Gods, went * *Joan. Lerii. hiſt. Americ.*

went directly after their Death, to the Houſe of the *Sun*, which they placed near that Luminary: This was the higheſt degree of happineſs among them. As for the wicked, they ſaid that they remained here below on the Earth, and were yet more unhappy there, than they had been during their lives: That thoſe who had been Thieves were continually purſu'd by *Demons*, that never left them at quiet: That the Adulterous were ſcorched with the Flames of their unlawful Luſts; and though they had always many handſome Women before their eyes, yet they were the only Dead, to whom it was forbidden to marry again in the other World, becauſe they had indulged, and given themſelves too much liberty in this: That thoſe who had killed their Fathers, their Wives, or Children, were eternally ſlain by the ſame Perſons, and with the ſame kind of Death wherewith they had formerly deſtroy'd them: That they who

who had murther'd their Kings, met after their Death with a company of mad riotous fellows, with whom they were fain to fight inceſſantly, giving and receiving large wounds continually, without having ſo much liberty as to lay down their Arms for one moment, or ſtop the bloud guſhing out from all parts of their Body. And finally, That thoſe who had put any of their Prieſts to Death, were perpetually praying to the Gods, without any hope of ever being heard.

ANOTHER opinion they had concerning thoſe that died without having committed any crime, and who otherwiſe were neither good nor bad. If they were young Children, who had liv'd but a ſhort time, or died before they were weaned, they believ'd that they met with an inviſible Manſion upon Earth, where they enjoy'd that life they had been depriv'd of, and that there they attained to ſuch an extreme old age, that they could no more

more tell their Years: And if they were old Men, their opinion was, that they began to grow young, as ſoon as they were arrived in the other World, and that at length they became ſo very young, that their former old age was by them wholly forgotten. If any died of a ſudden death, they ſuppoſed him to go to a place, where he was moſt delightfully ſurpris'd, and ſtruck with a raviſhing admiration, to ſee in that Region every thing contrary to, or at leaſt very different from what he had ſeen in this: in the admiring of which ſtrange and agreeable *Metamorphoſis* he was employed to Eternity. And laſtly, if any were drowned, they fancied him to paſs from the Water into a dry place, where he immediately voided the water he had let down, and where he was no more in danger of meeting with the ſame misfortune, the Gods having taken care to leave neither Sea, River, Brook, nor any Spring there, leſt the ſight of wa-

ter

ter ſhould occaſion any trouble to them who had miſcarried thereby.

THEY had alſo ſeveral ways of decking their Dead, which were generally very rich and pompous, and ſuitable to the Place or Office they had diſcharged, or to that * which in their life-time, they were moſt taken with. For example, they put upon their Prieſts the Ornaments of the Idol they had miniſtred unto: Courtiers they arrayed in ſuch a garb as their Prince moſt affected, and apparelled the common ſort in ſuch an habit, as was moſt agreeable to the condition, trade, or fancy of every one of them. Theſe were their ordinary ways of dreſſing the Corps. But they had others which were extraordinary, wherewith they ſet forth the Bodies of debauched and wicked fellows: for they clothed Drunkards in the habit of *Ometotchtli*, the God of Wine; and Adulterers in that of *Tlaxolteutl*, the God of Luſt. They had alſo particular

Their manner of apparelling the Dead.

* *Id. ibid.*

manners of apparelling those that perished by Shipwrack, or in Battel, dressing the former like to *Tlaloc*, the God of Water; and the latter in the warlike Ornaments of *Vitzilopuchtli*, the God of War.

Their Mourning. * *Belleſ. in Coſmog.*

NOR was their Mourning less different and various; * it being more or less according to the age of the Party deceased; for they were extremely sorrowful for the Death of their Children, and almost not at all concern'd for the Departure of aged Persons; insomuch that as they spared nothing to take care of the nourishment and education of the one, so they did much neglect the other. And what I find most remarkable therein, is this, That their Mourning for Children, was not only very long, but universal also, they being generally bemoaned by the whole City or Town in which they were born. On the day of their Death, no Body durst come nigh their Parents or nearest Relations, who carried themselves like

like furious and mad People, and made a moſt dreadful noiſe within their Houſes, howling and crying like Perſons in deſpair, plucking off their Hair, biting, ſcratching, and tearing their Fleſh. On the next day they flung themſelves down upon their Beds, and bathed them with their own tears. On the third day they began their lamentations, which continu'd the whole Year; during which time neither the Father, nor Mother of the Child, ever waſh'd themſelves; and the reſt of the whole City, to condole with them for their loſs, did weep three times a day, till the Corps was carried to the Grave.

AS concerning their Mourning for others, it was regulated according to the number of the Years they had liv'd; laſting eleven Months, if the Party had liv'd but five Years; ten, if he had liv'd ten Years; nine, if fifteen; eight, if he had attained to twenty Years of age; ſeven, if twenty-five; ſix, if

thirty; five, if thirty-five; four, if forty; three, if he was above forty-five; two, if he pass'd fifty; one only, if he was sixty; and (as I have said before) they scarcely mourned at all for such as were very old and decrepit.

The richness of their Tombs and Monuments. * *Thevet. l. 22.*

MOST commonly they buried the Dead; and * some of them plac'd them sitting up-right in their Graves, leaving with them some Water, Bread, Salt, and Fruits, together with the Weapons they used in their life-time. Others shut them up in most rich and curious Coffins, whereof some have been found at *Cusco* in *Peru*, of the value of above sixty five thousand golden Ducats. Others did bury them after a plain and simple manner, and erected on their Graves four Pillars (in the form of a gallows) whereon they hang'd their Arms, Crests and Plumes of Feathers, together with a great number of Flagons of Wine and several sorts of Meats. Others after having let the Body lye in the ground,

ground, for the ſpace of a whole Year, at the end thereof took it up out of the Grave; and paid a Duty or Service to it, which was ſo much the more ridiculous, becauſe it was made up of weeping and laughter. And not to ſpeak of other barbarous ceremonies which attended it, they firſt began theſe *Obſequies* with Songs, that contained a relation of the whole life of the Dead; which were oft interrupted with the doleful noiſe of wailing and lamentations. After which they ſate down to eat the Proviſions they had brought along with them; and having thus feaſted themſelves, they roſe and danc'd a kind of Jig round the Corps, which they concluded with huge cries, roaring out as loud as ever they could, ſtamping their Feet againſt the ground, and lifting their Eyes towards Heaven. At laſt they burnt the Bones of the deceaſed, and gave his Head to his Widow, or neareſt Relation, that they might keep the ſame as a Relick.

Their Songs, Lamentations and Feaſts.

Their opinion concerning the abode of Souls. * *Johan. Leri. ibid.*

AND for the Souls, they believ'd that they * retir'd themſelves into a pleaſant and plentiful Region, where they ate the beſt Meats, and drunk the moſt delicious Liquors; they alſo fancied that theſe Souls were the Eccho's that anſwer People when they cry or ſpeak aloud.

Particular Ceremonies for Phyſicians.

NOR ought we here to omit ſome other ceremonies of theirs, which are no leſs curious and obſervable. Thoſe among them that conſider'd their Phyſicians as petty Gods, becauſe of their procuring and preſerving of health (which of all temporal bleſſings is the greateſt) that they might ſhew them a proportionable honour at their Death, did not Bury them as others, but burnt them publickly with ſolemn rejoycings; Men and Women confuſedly ſinging and dancing together round about the Fire; and when the Bones were burnt to aſhes, every one endeavoured to get ſome part of them, to carry to his own Houſe, which they afterwards drunk in

in Wine, as an Antidote againſt all manner of Diſeaſes. Now, though theſe aſhes did by the Law of the Country, belong to the Relict, or other neareſt Relations of the Deceaſed, to the end they might by drinking the ſame, preſerve his skill and knowledge in their Family; yet they, for the moſt part, had much ado to ſave them from the Rabble, eſpecially if the Phyſician had been a Perſon of great repute for curing of Diſeaſes: For as every one does naturally love his health, they believing that this was an infallible Remedy to preſerve it, we need not admire that they uſed their utmoſt endeavour to procure ſome of theſe Relicks, which they often ſnatch'd by force out of the hands of his Kindred and Relations.

The aſhes of the Dead, drunk.

NEITHER was this Cuſtom of drinking the aſhes of their dead Phyſicians, ſo peculiar to the Inhabitants of *Panuco*, for I find that alike Ceremony was commonly us'd in the Countrey of *Veneſſuela*,

at the death of all manner of Persons, * whose Bodies they generally roasted, cut them out into small pieces, and then bray'd them till they came to the consistence of a thick Jelly, which they dissolved in Wine, and drank with great pleasure; this being accounted the most delicious drink among them, who fancied they could never make any splendid entertainment, but when they had some of this high Cordial to render it compleat. Whence it was, that all the grief they had conceived from the death of their Relations, was soon wash'd away, by the delight they took in drinking the remainder of their Bodies.

* *Lep. Hist. Ind. Acost. Hist. Amer.*

Corpses kept at home.

THE Custom of the People of *Florida*, seems somewhat more civil, though full of superstition; who keep the Bodies of all their dead Friends within their Houses, fearing that if they should come to lose one of those Relicks only, some great mischief or other would befal them. Assoon as any one is dead among

among them, they place his Corps near a great Fire, turning it from time to time, to the end it may be well dryed; and when it is throughly dryed, and the Fleſh become ſtiff and hard, they deck it the moſt gorgeouſly they can, not ſparing any thing that is coſtly or curious, as Cloth of Gold, Plumes of Feathers, and precious Stones to ſet it forth, and then enſhrine it in a Niche or hollow, made in the Wall for that purpoſe; which they look upon as the greateſt ornament of their Houſes; thoſe being reckon'd the fineſt and moſt richly furniſh'd, that have the longeſt rows of theſe *Mummies*; with which alſo they oft entertain ſeveral diſcourſes, recounting all that they know of the Deceaſed. And ſo great a comfort is the preſence of theſe Objects to them, that it ſoon makes their mourning to ceaſe; for by having their Friends continually before their Eyes, they can ſcarcely believe, that they have loſt 'em by Death.

ALMOST

The dead Bodies of great Captains, carried to battels.

ALMOST the ſame Cuſtom is uſed among the inhabitants of *Nova Granada*, ſpecially towards the Bodies of their great Captains, whoſe *Mummies* they carefully preſerve, carrying them along with them in all their warlike Expeditions, as being perſwaded that they can never be vanquiſh'd, whilſt they have thoſe Relicks in their company; and if they chance to be ſo unfortunate, as to loſe the day, they attribute it to the injuſtice of their cauſe, and with tears beg pardon of the Corps of their General, for the ſhame they have expoſed him to. But when they prove victorious, they offer many Sacrifices to him, in acknowledgment of his aid and aſſiſtance.

Particular Ceremonies for the Kings of *Mexico*.

* *Barth. de las Caſes, Hiſt. Americ.*

AND not to paſs by the account of the Burials of their Kings, * I ſhall (only) mention thoſe of *Mexico* and *Mechuacan*, which are the two moſt conſiderable, and civilized Countries in all *America*; that thereby I may give the Reader an

Idea

Idea of their moſt magnificent Funeral Pomps and Obſequies. And firſt of *Mexico.*

AS ſoon as their King was fallen ſick, they put a Mask upon the face of their principal Idol, and did not take it off, till he was either Dead, or perfectly recovered. If he Died, they preſently publiſh'd a ſolemn Mourning for him, not only in the City, but throughout the whole Kingdom; to every part of which Expreſſes were ſent, to give notice thereof, to the end that all manner of rejoycings might immediately ceaſe. Upon which notice given, all the great Lords repaired to Court, to attend his Funerals: and in the mean time his Corps was well waſhed and embalmed. Now when the Court was full and compleat, and all the Grandees were met together in the Palace, the Body of the Prince was taken out of his uſual Bed, to be laid open to the ſight of all, on a Straw-bed, in the midſt of the Hall: And this ſad object, which

which drew tears from the Eyes of all the ſtanders-by, was in this manner expoſed for the ſpace of three days, during which time it was not lawful for any Lord to abſent himſelf from the place; and to that purpoſe every one of them ordered their Neceſſaries to be brought thither to them, by their Servants and Vaſſals; nor did they take any reſt, but in their Chairs.

HAVING thus attended and watched him, they put on his face the Vizard of the Idol, for which he always had the greateſt devotion; they ſtopt his mouth with a large Emerald, and covered him with ſeventeen very rich Carpets or Coverings; upon each of which the name of the Idol, in whoſe Temple he had choſen to be Buried, was written. Then they cut a handful of his Hair, which they laid up as a precious Relick, ſaying, that the memory of his Soul remained in that Hair; and ſacrificed a Slave to him, whoſe office it was, during

during his Life, to light his Lamps, and burn his Perfumes; that he might do him the ſame ſervice in the other World.

Humane Sacrifices in honour of their Kings.

THOUGH indeed this humane (or rather inhumane) Sacrifice was not ſolitary, but was attended by an infinite number of others, that were never a whit leſs cruel; yet this was the firſt of all that was ſlaughter'd, to the end he might go before, and prepare all things for the reception of ſo great a Prince; for they believ'd, that his Soul did not depart this World, till his Body was burnt; and that whilſt they were making preparation for his Funeral pomp, it ſtaid with the Body, to obſerve if they punctually paid their duty to it. Upon which ſcore they were careful not to omit the leaſt circumſtance thereof, for fear of being puniſh'd for it upon the ſpot.

Their Funeral Pomp.

THIS firſt Sacrifice being over, ſome of the chief Lords carried the Corps upon their ſhoulders, having round

round about them a multitude of others, who with feigned lamentations made a moſt dreadful noiſe; for thoſe that were appointed to weep, were fain to do it, though never ſo much againſt their heart, unleſs they would incur the rigorous puniſhments, that were by the Law ordain'd in that caſe; inſomuch as they thought themſelves very happy, who could eſcape this Office; and to avoid all diſcontents, and diſputes on that account, they before the Funeral March begun, caſt lots, who ſhould bear the Corps, who ſhould weep, and which of them ſhould carry his Arms, and Preſents ordained for him; which laſt marched in great numbers at the head of the Company, making a fine ſhow of all ſorts of Arms in uſe amongſt them, and thoſe of the beſt that could be; as Bucklers, Darts, Arrows, Bows, Clubs, Colours, Plumes of Feathers, and a thouſand other things, no leſs beautiful and pleaſing to the Eye, than rich and precious.

IN

IN this order they approached the Temple, where at the entrance of the Yard, or Court which compaſſed it, they were receiv'd by the High Prieſt, who with the whole Clergy, attended there for that purpoſe, having aforehand prepar'd a large Wood-pile in the ſame place, which being kindled, and the High Prieſt having, with a mournful accent, pronounced certain words over the Corps, commanded it to be caſt into the Fire, where whilſt it was conſuming, the whole Nobility drew near, in the ſame order in which they came, and threw their Preſents into it. In the mean time the Prieſts were not idle on their part, being employed in butchering two hundred Slaves, both Men and Women (moſt of them being deſign'd for particular ſervices of their Soveraign in the other World) beſides ſome Dwarfs and Jeſters, for their Princes diverſion; the Hearts of all which perſons they flung into the Fire, to the end that every one of

Their Wood-pile.

of thoſe Servants they ſent to accompany their Prince, by having their Hearts burnt together with him, and their Aſhes mingled with his, might the more cordially be devoted to his ſervice.

The manner of their burying the Aſhes.

THESE Aſhes they gathered the next day, and laid them up in a vaulted Grot, all painted within, which after they had well cloſed, they placed upon it the imboſſed figure of their Prince, that they might ſtill, from time to time, offer the like Sacrifices to him. For on the fourth day after his being Burnt, they Sacrificed fifteen Slaves to him, in honour of the four Seaſons of the Year, that he might always have them fair and pleaſant in the other World. On the twentieth they ſacrificed five others, that he might to all Eternity enjoy the ſame ſtrength and vigour, which a man has at twenty years of Age. On the ſixtieth, three, that he might feel none of thoſe three diſtempers that attend old Age, *viz.* Weakneſs,

neſs, Cold and Dulneſs, or Heavineſs. And at the end of the year, they ſacrificed nine other Slaves to him; that number being the moſt proper to expreſs Eternity, by reaſon that beyond it we ſtill begin anew.

Particular Ceremonies for the Kings of *Mechuacan.*

AS for the Funerals of the King of *Mechuacan*, they were yet attended with more Ceremonies. As ſoon as he felt himſelf ſick to death, he declared his Succeſſor; and this new Prince *, in acknowledgment of it, did immediately thereupon give order for putting all things in a readineſs, to pay him his laſt duty, in the moſt pompous and glorious manner imaginable. In purſuance whereof, he, as ſoon as the old King had given up the Ghoſt, aſſembled all the Nobility of the Realm, and ordered them to bring rich Preſents along with them. The Palace in the mean time was kept cloſe ſhut, all the while the Corps was embalming, which being done, they laid it upon a Bed of State, decked

* *Id. ibid.*

with all their uſual ornaments, *viz.* with Feathers curiouſly ſtitched and plaited together upon a very fine linnen Shift (wherewith his back and breaſt were covered) a pair of Kid-leather-ſhoes on his feet, a ſet of ſmall Golden-bells a little beneath his knees, Rings on his fingers, Bracelets about his arms, a Neck-lace of Turquois-ſtones about his neck, and Pendants in his Ears. They alſo laid by him upon the ſame Bed, on the one ſide of him, his Bow and Quiver full of Arrows, and on the other ſide a Puppet, or Baby all covered with precious ſtones.

ALL things being in this order, the Gates of the Palace were ſet wide open, and the Nobility being enter'd, they all went and laid their hands upon the Corps, making very great lamentations; and having be-ſprinkled it with ſweet water, they ſet down upon the Bed by him, the Preſents they had brought along with them.

IN

IN the mean time all ſorts of Officers were provided and made ready, to ſerve him in the other World; and among them ſeven young Virgins, the moſt beautiful that could be found; one of which was appointed to keep all his Jewels, another to be his Cup-bearer, another to ſerve him with Water to waſh his hands, another to reach him the Chamber-pot, another to be his Cook, another to take care of his Cloaths, and laſt of all, another to be his Laundreſs. And in order to the fitting of them for the Service they were ſeverally deſigned to, they bathed and waſhed them well, ſhaved off all their Hair, fed them with variety of dainties for the ſpace of many days, painted their bodies with a yellow colour, and adorned their heads with Chaplets or Garlands.

ON the day of the Funeral ſolemnity, theſe poor wretches, together with all the reſt deſign'd for Sacrifice, marched in proceſſion be-

fore the Corps, ſome of them making a noiſe, by clapping certain Shells together, others playing upon Inſtruments, ſome whiſtling, and others ſinging after their manner. The Corps was carried by the Prince himſelf, who was immediately followed by the principal Officers of the Crown, and others of the King's family; next after them came the Nobility, and laſt of all the common people.

Their Funeral pomp.

NEITHER did they begin their Funeral March, till twelve of the clock at night; the blaze of many thouſand burning Torches ſupplying them with light, and the Streets through which they were to paſs, being carefully ſwept and cleanſed. As ſoon as they were come to the Temple, they went thrice a-round the Wood-pile; and then having laid the Corps upon, and put fire to it, they with a Club knock'd down all theſe poor unfortunate Victims, which were to accompany their Prince into the other World,

Humane Sacrifices in honour of their Kings.

World, and to that end were in the ſame Fire conſumed with him. This Fire laſted till day-light, and then they took up the Aſhes in a large Blanket, in which they brought them to the Gate of the Temple, where two Prieſts having conſecrated them, a Paſte was made thereof, which they ſhap'd into the faſhion of a great humane figure, adorning it with the moſt precious things they had, and afterwards buried it in a large Hole or Cave, all lin'd with Mats; placing round about it, not only all manner of Weapons, and ſeveral Coffers full of Treaſure; but alſo great variety of all ſorts of moſt dainty Meats.

The manner of their burying Aſhes.

IN this Ceremony they ſpent five whole days, during which all manner of Commerce and Trade ceaſed, none durſt ſtir abroad, or be ſeen in the Street, and it was prohibited to light a fire in any houſe, but in the Palace and Temples. And as they accounted all thoſe defiled, who had touch'd either the

dead Body, or Aſhes, they were very ſcrupulous of coming nigh them, till after they were purified. In a word, to make an end of this Chapter, the greateſt part of the Nobility did both ſleep and eat in the Court of the Temple, all the time this Solemnity laſted, expreſſing an extraordinary ſadneſs and affliction in their countenances, without daring to ſpeak a word.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Funerals of ſome *Iſlanders.*

THE Inhabitants of *Japan* ſeem to have Sentiments and Opinions quite contrary to thoſe of all other Nations. For generally in other Places, as long as a Friend or Relation is yet alive, though he be never ſo ſick, people endeavour to comfort themſelves, becauſe they are not without hope he may recover; neither do they wholly abandon themſelves to ſorrow, but when Death has cut off all theſe their pleaſing hopes and expectations. But that which makes others give the reins to tears and lamentations, doth afford to theſe Iſlanders matter of joy and ſolace, who are as merry and chearful at the Death of any of their Friends, as they were ſad and afflicted, during his ſickneſs. And

Affliction of the *Japannees* when their Friends are ſick, and their joy when Dead.

indeed they commonly exceed in both theſe; for as they with an extraordinary dejected countenance and grief of heart lament him, when ſick, ſparing neither care nor charge to endeavour his recovery, when in danger of loſing his life; ſo on the other ſide, when he hath loſt it, they frame to themſelves a thouſand pleaſing and flattering *Ideas*, to his advantage, omitting nothing that may expreſs their joy and comfort on that occaſion.

Their mourning for the ſickneſs of Perſons of Quality.

IF the ſick Party be a Perſon of great Quality, if he poſſeſs Lands, and be inveſted with Offices, all his Domeſticks and Vaſſals, or Tenants are bound to put themſelves in Mourning, to keep long Faſts and tedious abſtinences, and a thouſand other expreſſions of ſorrow, to declare the ſhare they take in his miſery, and how ſenſibly they are afflicted for his ſickneſs. His Relations alſo would be look'd upon as infamous and unworthy Perſons, ſhould they, during the whole time of

of his illneſs, take any the leaſt pleaſure or diverſion; they being by the cuſtom of the Country oblig'd to abſtain from all manner of dainties, and ſome of 'em lye all that time upon the bare ground, whilſt others are watching with and attending upon him; and to the end that nothing may divert them from this duty of waiting upon the ſick, they caſt off the care of all their other affairs.

For common People.

WHEN the ſick Perſon is of an ordinary condition, or of the common ſort of People, his Shop is preſently ſhut up; ſo as nothing of his Trade is driven all that while; and his whole Family are ſo ſad and comfortleſs, that they even neglect themſelves in their neceſſary repaſts. They are always in tears, and wander up and down the Streets, enquiring for Remedies, that may give him ſome eaſe. They aggravate his ſickneſs to thoſe of his acquaintance they meet with in their way. They curſe a thouſand times the Malady, which

Their Complaints and Petitions againſt Sickneſs & Diſeaſes.

which is the cauſe of his ſufferings; they accuſe it of injuſtice, and endeavour to prove from the actions of his life, that he never deſerved to be ſo ſeverely handled. For they fancy all Diſeaſes are inviſible Officers of a Soveraign Judge, whom they adore: Upon which account, they very often preſent Petitions againſt them in the Temples conſecrated to that Supreme Judge: Which Petitions are generally anſwered with good ſucceſs, and ſuch as gives them all the ſatisfaction imaginable. For if the ſick recover, they doubt not but that the ſaid Officer hath been turn'd out of his Place, ſince he can no more exerciſe his cruelties by ſickneſs upon their Friend; and if he dye, as they are perſwaded, that he is preſently receiv'd into the rank and number of the Gods, they comfort themſelves in hopes that he will highly revenge himſelf upon that petty fellow, who has been ſo bold to make him ſuffer unjuſtly, whileſt he

he was in this life. And * therefore as ſoon as their Friend hath cloſed his Eyes, their grief is at an end, nd kneeling down they adore aim.

Apotheoſis, or Conſecration of their Dead.

* *Franc. Solier. hiſt. Japon, l. 1. c. 14.*

HAVING performed this Ceremony, they go and publiſh the good news of his Death throughout the City; and the *Bonzes*, which are their Prieſts, upholding them in theſe errors, do from that hour diſpoſe themſelves to come and take the Corps away, and with great pomp carry it to their Burying-places; the Prieſts at their own charges providing a great number of Torch-lights, with a decent Coffin for to lay the dead Body in, and dreſſing themſelves in their beſt and richeſt Ornaments, the better to grace the Solemnity. For all which trouble and coſt they deſire no reward from the Relations of the Deceaſed; becauſe they would have the People believe, that there is not a dead Body but is to them an holy Relick, and for which they ſtand highly

highly oblig'd to the Family.

Funeral Ceremonies of the *Maldives* Islands differing from those of other *Mahometans.*

THE Inhabitants of the *Maldives*, being *Mahometans*, do observe the Law of *Mahumet*: but by reason their Country is far remote from *Persia* and *Turky*, which are the two most civiliz'd Nations of that Sect, it happens that not having the opportunity of being furnished with able Men, who might fully instruct them in the Doctrine contain'd in the *Alcoran*, they mix with it several inventions and particular Ceremonies of their own. But I shall here only mention such of them, as relate to Funerals, these alone being the subject of my present Discourse.

Publick Officers for burying of the Dead.

THEY have in every one of their Cities publick Officers, that are appointed to bury the Dead, *viz.* six Men and six Women, who meddle with none but those of their own Sex. Which Office they buy of the King; and at their enterance upon it, they give (besides what it cost them) a Sum of Money

ney to be diſtributed among their Brethren or Fellow-Officers. Their Duty conſiſteth in waſhing the Body very well, and laying it up in a Coffin made of ſome ſweet-ſcented Wood, with the uſual Circumſtances; which are, Firſt, the laying his right Hand upon his Ear, and his left all along his Thigh, to intimate that if he has contracted any ſin by his birth, he has made it his buſineſs to purge and repent himſelf of it, by liſtning to the Voice, and obſerving the Commandments of God. Secondly, the preparing a Cotton-bed for him; which repreſents the ſweet and pleaſant reſt, that he is to enjoy in the other World. Thirdly, the ſowing him to this Bed, by means of a ſtrong double Linnen-cloth wrapt about him, to ſignifie that the Reſt he is gone to take poſſeſſion of, cannot be ſhaken, and that nothing thenceforth can diſturb or interrupt it. Laſtly, the making him lean on his right ſide, to ſhew that he has not deſerved

The manner of their burying the Dead.

Their reaſons.

deserved to enter into this Rest upon any other account, but because he has supported all his actions with justice and equity, and has never taken pleasure in any unjust thing.

How great an esteem and care they have of their interment.

THEY esteem this duty of burying the Dead of so great importance, that it is the first thing they take care of, as soon as they are come to an Age, in which they are capable of minding their own affairs. Wherefore when they are become their own Masters, and from under the tuition of their Fathers, either by being sent forth to shift for themselves, or by Marriage, their first business is, to look out a place where they intend to be Buried; and the next, to prepare a Stone on which their Epitaph (containing a short account of their Life) is to be engraven; as likewise to lay up in some Trunk or Chest the Garments, and other necessaries for their Funerals, together with such a summ of money, as they think fitting to allow for the charges thereof; which

money

money is by them esteemed so sacred, that they dare not meddle with it, what exigency soever might afterwards seem to call for it.

The manner of their accompanying the Corps to the Grave.

SO great a concourse of people does always resort to their Burials, that it were needless to invite any body to them, since every one invites himself, even strangers, and the most unconcerned persons, joyning themselves with the company, and in compassion of their affliction, muttering several prayers, whilst others almost kill themselves with striving, who shall weep most; and this for the space of three whole hours, for so long commonly this procession lasts; their custom being to carry the Body quite round the City, or if it be but a small Town or Village, they take a great compass in the fields; the Air all this while resounding with nothing but doleful cries and lamentations. They who march first, carry the Funeral Presents; some of them have bottles of sweet water, which they

they ſprinkle upon thoſe that paſs by; others fling about a vaſt number of ſmall Cockle-ſhells, * which is the moſt uſual money of that Country, as Farthings are with us: And others (when they are arrived at the place of Burial) diſtribute Millet and Rice to the poor.

* *Relat. Pyrard.*

Their Ceremonies at the Interment of the Dead.

AS ſoon as the Body is laid in the Grave, they caſt a great quantity of white Sand upon it, together with a bottle of Water, thereby to ſignifie, that they deſire he may be cleanſed from all ſorts of filthineſs; and the reaſon why they make uſe of Sand, rather than Earth, to cover the Dead is, that it might eaſily give way to his departure thence into Paradiſe. For the ſame cauſe they do alſo often change this Sand; for fear that if it ſhould grow hard, it might hurt the Dead, and hinder him from riſing again, when he ſhould be called to the abode of the Bleſſed. Moreover they do ſurround the Grave with wooden Rails, to the end that no body might go over it;

it; which among them is accounted the greateſt irreverence imaginable.

AS for the common ſort of people, they hire Prieſts three Fridays after another, to ſay a great number of prayers for a whole day and night together; inſomuch as they are fain to take their Meals there at the Grave; neither do they ſtir thence, till four and twenty hours be paſt: After which they treat the Prieſts very ſplendidly, and return them their thanks, for admitting their Relations or Friends into Heaven. Prayers and Feaſts for the Dead.

AND for what concerns Perſons of greater Quality; their cuſtom is for a whole Year together, to carry every day diverſe ſorts of Meats to their Graves; with which the Prieſts having feaſted themſelves, the remainder is afterwards diſtributed among the poor.

LAST of all, for their Kings, they continue their Prayers and Alms during the whole Reign of his Their mourning.

Succeſſor, who wears no other Mourning, but that on the day of the burial of his Predeceſſor, he goes bare-headed, and without his Turbant; which according to his example, is alſo imitated by the Nobility and People, who upon like occaſions ſhew the ſame reſpect to their Dead relations.

Their cuſtom when any dies at Sea.

IT is likewiſe to be obſerved, that when any of theſe *MALDIVIANS* die at Sea, they make a kind of open Coffin for them, of three boards faſtned together, on which they lay the Body, that it may ſwim upon the Water, putting into one of his hands a Writing, which contains his Religion; and in the other a Purſe with money, to pay the charges of his Funerals; and after they have done this, they are as well ſatisfied, as if they had Buried him themſelves, they making no doubt but that duty will be diſcharged by the inhabitants of the firſt place, where the Body ſhall arrive.

THE

THE *Caribees*, who inhabit the *Antilee-Islands*, do obſerve other Ceremonies, which are no leſs remarkable, as well for the manner of ordering the Body, as the laying of it in the Grave. After they have wept over the Corps, they waſh it carefully, then colour it red all over, rub his head with Oil, and comb out his Hair: This being done, they bind his Legs to his Thighs, and put his Elbows between his Legs, tying down his Face upon his Hands, much after the ſame poſture as an Infant lies in the belly of his Mother, and thus they wrap it up in a linnen-cloth. The manner of Burying among the *Caribees*.

TO their lamentations they add diſcourſes, wherewith they entertain the Dead, which are the moſt ridiculous and non-ſenſical that can be imagin'd. They talk to him of the beſt Fruits their Country doth afford; telling him that he might have eaten of them, as much as he would. They put him in mind of the love his Family had for him, Their lamentations.

and the reputation he lived in, with a thouſand ſuch other things, reproaching him above all for dying, as if it had been in his power to prevent it. For example, they tell him, *Thou mighteſt have lived ſo well, and made ſo good cheer; thou didſt want neither* Manioc, *nor* Potato's, *nor* Bananes, *nor* Ananas; *how is it then that thou diedſt? Thou didſt live in ſo great eſteem with all men, every one did love and reſpect thee; what is the matter then that thou art dead? Thy Friends and Relations were ſo kind to thee, their greateſt care was only to pleaſe thee, and to let thee lack nothing; pray tell us then, why didſt thou think of dying? Thou waſt ſo uſeful and ſerviceable to thy Country; thou hadſt ſignaliz'd thy ſelf in ſo many Battels; thou waſt our defence and ſecurity from the aſſaults and fury of our Enemies; why is it then, that thou art dead?* Which laſt words is always the burthen of their ſong, and the concluſion of all their complaints, which they repeat a thouſand

ſand times; reckoning over all the actions of his life, with all the advantages wherewith he was endowed.

THEY make their Graves round like a Tun, four or five foot deep, in the bottom of which they place a ſmall ſtool, whereon they ſet the Corps, leaving it there unburied for the ſpace of ten days, during which they bring him Meat and Drink. At laſt ſeeing that he will not touch any of theſe Viands, nor return to life again, they fling them down upon his head, and having filled up the Hole, they kindle a great Fire over it, round about which all the ſtanders-by, both Men and Women ſet themſelves down kneeling, and begin to bemoan and lament the Deceaſed, with dreadful howlings, whilſt ſome of them caſt all the moveables and houſhold-ſtuff into the flames, which were uſed by him during his life. For example, if the Deceaſed be a Man, they burn, together with him, his

The form of their Graves.

Their Ceremonies at the Enterment of the Dead.

Bow and Arrows, his Club, Crowns of Feathers, Pendants, Rings, Bracelets, Baskets, Veſſels, and whatever elſe he was us'd to wear or ſerve himſelf with; all the company in the mean time not ceaſing their cries and lamentations, till all the foreſaid things be entirely conſumed.

Their mourning.

THEIR Mourning conſiſts in ſhaving their Heads, and obſerving ſevere and ſtrict Faſts, until the time they judge the Corps may be putrified; which that they may be the more certain of, they often look into the Grave; and finding it ſo, they cover it again, and tread down the place * with their feet, ſighing and ſobbing in a moſt ſad manner. When all this is by them performed, they go and make themſelves merry with feaſting and drinking even to exceſs, that they may drown their ſorrow, and drive it from their hearts.

* *Hiſt. mor. & nat. Antil.* c. 24.

THE Inhabitans of the *Fortunate Iſlands*, as likewiſe thoſe of *Comagra*

magra had no ſuch pity for their Deceaſed friends; for the *Canarians*, who inhabited the former, were ſo far from weeping, that they did nothing elſe but ſing, dance, and divert themſelves at the Interment of their Dead; and the latter clothed them with their richeſt wearing Apparel, and congratulated them upon the account of the happineſs that was fallen to their lot, in being freed from all the miſeries of this life.

Rejoycings of the Inhabitants of the *Canaries* at the Death of their Relations.

A like practice of thoſe of *Comagra.*

AS for the people of *Candia*, though they did not uſe any great Ceremonies at the Burial of their Dead, yet was that laſt duty look'd upon by them as a thing ſo important and Sacred, * that thoſe that were appointed to make the Graves for the Dead, and to lay them therein, enjoy'd great Priviledges amongſt them, and were by every one reverenced and honour'd, as much as the Prieſts themſelves, above whom they had this advantage; That whereas the *Candians* did commonly

Reſpect and Priviledges given by thoſe of *Candia* to their Sextons.

* *Plut. quæſt. Græc.* 21.

ly rob one another, without being puniſhed for it, not ſparing even thoſe that were conſecrated to the ſervice of the Gods; yet would they never meddle with any thing belonging to the publick Funeral Officers, for fear they ſhould in revenge have let them want a Grave after their Death, in caſe they had done them any wrong; which they dreaded as the greateſt of all misfortunes, that could poſſibly befal them; inſomuch that it was good being a Sexton amongſt them, becauſe that employment, which generally with others is very abject and contemptible, was the moſt priviledged, and reſpected in that Country.

The Burial of the *Cyprians.*

THE Inhabitants of *Cyprus* did firſt anoint the Dead with Honey, and then paſted them over with Wax; by which means they preſerved their figure and ſhape ſeveral years together, during all which time the * corruption of the inward parts did not exhale the leaſt ill ſcent;

* *Æl. l. 6.*

ſcent: And laſt of all, having carried them into Caves made in ſome Rocks, and ſet them up there as ſo many Statues, their Relations from time to time came and viſited them, diſcourſing with them of things that paſs'd in their Family, or other occurring matters. An ancient Author makes this obſervation upon the forementioned Ceremony, *viz.* That they Buried their Friends in Honey after their Death, as they had given them Gall to taſte at their Birth, and coming into the World; and that, becauſe Gall is a very ſignificant ſymbol of the miſeries and afflicting ſorrows of this wretched life, which is full of bitterneſs; as Honey is an Emblem of the ſweet enjoyments and happineſs of the other, wherein is found an infinite variety of raviſhing pleaſures and delights.

Their Graves.

Reaſons for theſe their Ceremonies.

IT will not be improper to add ſomething here concerning the Cuſtom of the Inhabitants of *Greenland*, which is the coldeſt Country in the World;

* *Relat. Holand.*

World*; that Iſland lying in the midſt of the frozen Sea; and becauſe the Ice never thaweth there, on that ſide that lies towards *America*, the Sun being not hot enough to melt it, it hath made ſome to conclude, that it was joyned to the *Northern* part of the *Weſt Indies*, and conſequently that it was part of the Continent, and no Iſland. Now the Inhabitants of this Country, take no other care of their Dead, than that they draw them out of their Caves, in which they live under ground, and expoſe them naked to the open Air, where they ſoon grow as hard as ſtones: And to the end they might not, by being thus left in the open Fields, be devoured by Bears, or other wild Beaſts, they ſhut them up in great Hampers, which they hang upon Trees.

Burials of the *Greenlanders.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Funerals of the *Tartars.*

THESE People which were formerly call'd *Scythians*, and are ſtill in our days accounted barbarous, by reaſon of their rude, ſavage and wandring way of living, having no home, or ſetled dwelling-place as others; but herding together * in Woods and Fields, like Brute-beaſts; ſometimes in one place, and ſometimes in another, according to the variety of Seaſons, and conveniency of Paſture; I ſay theſe very People all wild and brutiſh as they are, have notwithſtanding excell'd many other Nations in the Piety they have ſhown, and duty they have paid to the Dead.

* *Relat. var.*

Doubtful relations of the Cruelty the *Tartarians* uſe towards the Dead.

I KNOW that ſome accuſe them of cruelty in this matter, ſaying that they either hang the Dead on

on Trees in the remoteſt and coldeſt places, to harden them thereby, or (what is much more horrid) devour them, after they have fell'd them down with their own Hands: though indeed the ſame Hiſtorians do tell us, that this their cruelty extend only to Perſons of ſeventy years of age, and that they bury all that were under thoſe Years: Yet I do find that anciently the cuſtom of burying the Dead was ſo univerſal, * that nothing was reckon'd more ſacred among them. And *Herodotus* informs us, that *Darius* Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, having made an Invaſion into their Country with a moſt puiſſant Army, and ſeeing that they fled continually from him, reſolv'd to ſend one of his Principal Officers to them, to know the reaſon of their cowardly running away, and whether they would not at length ſtop ſomewhere, and ſtand to a Battle, which he had ſo often fairly proffer'd them; To which they returned this anſwer, That they

* *Herodot.* l. 4.

they had no Cities nor Lands to defend: but that when-ever they ſhould advance ſo far as their Fathers Graves, that then his Maſter would be aware with what courage and reſolution they could fight for ſecuring of any thing that was conſiderable or dear unto them. With which anſwer (as ‖ *Valerius Maximus* adds) they for-ever clear'd themſelves of that foul blot of monſtrous barbarity, which was before thought to be ſo natural to them; ſince a more pious reply could not poſſibly have been given by the moſt civilized People in the World. Which paſſage alſo proves that they were wont to bury their Dead, and that their Graves were in remote places, far from the commerce and reſort of any that were borderers upon them.

‖ *Val. Max.* l. 5.

SOME of the * moſt barbarous cuſtomes related of them in Hiſtories, are the Funeral Ceremonies, wherewith they, in ancient times, honour'd their Kings; of which I find two ſeveral accounts, both equally

Barbarous Funeral Pomp.

* *Relat. Var.*

qually horrid. As ſoon as any of their Princes was Dead, they open'd his Body to take out the entrails, which otherwiſe might have corrupted it, and after having waſh'd it well, they poured melted Wax all over it, both within and without. Then they fill'd it with Thyme, mixt with Chervil, Sellery and Anniſeeds bruis'd together; and after that having ſow'd it up again, as neatly as poſſibly they could, they ſet it ſtark naked upon a Chariot, which was to carry it not only through all his own hereditary Provinces, but thoſe alſo which he had ſubdued and made tributary. When they came to the Frontiers of any Countrey, thoſe that had conducted, and attended it ſo far thither, returned back, and others of that Province receiv'd and took care of it, thus conveying it from hand to hand, till it had gone round the whole Kingdom. Now it was lawful for the Inhabitants of every Province to do what out-rage or injury they

they pleased, to revenge those wrongs which the Prince in his life time had done them: So that some cut off his Ears, others his Hair, others his Nose, others struck him on the Forehead, others slash'd deep and large gashes in his Arms, and others pierced his Hands with Arrows; every one insulting on that part, which he conceived he had been agriev'd or injur'd by. For example, those that could never obtain a hearing from him, revenged themselves upon his Ears, which had always been deaf to them; they that were scandaliz'd with his debaucheries and luxury, tore off his Hair, that was his chief Ornament, and after they had shaved him, to make him look ugly and ridiculous, they made a thousand flouts at him. They that disslik'd his too great delicacy and effeminateness, slit his Nose for him, as supposing that he could never have been such, but because he lov'd and delighted too much in Perfumes and

and pleaſant Scents. They that were offended at his Government, broke his Forehead, the place where all his Tyrannical Laws and Ordinances had been hatched. Thoſe to whom he had done any violence, regarding his Arms as the Inſtruments of his ſtrength, and the Executioners of their miſeries, did with ſeveral blows break the very Bones of them. And they who had ſuffer'd by his covetouſneſs, either becauſe of the heavy Taxes and Subſidies he had levied upon them, or elſe becauſe he had not rewarded their ſervices, did ſlit open his hands, for having been too griping or cloſe fiſted.

IN the end, when all had thus wreked their ſpleen upon him, by puniſhing him according to their pleaſure, and the wrong they had receiv'd from him, they brought him back to the place where he died, and having erected a great Wood-pile, they burnt him, with one of the moſt beautiful of his Miſtriſſes,

or

or Concubines, together with his Cup-bearer, his Cook, his Maſter of Horſe, and the chief Groom of his Stable, with ſome Horſes; beſides fifty others of his Servants, all whoſe throats they cut, whilſt his Body was a burning, and buried them about the Grave, wherein they laid his aſhes.

THE other Solemnity I am to mention, is yet more barbarous. When generally no complaints were heard of the deceaſed * Soveraign, they then took no care to embalm him, becauſe there was no need to preſerve his Body, in order to the taking a progreſs about the Kingdom. In this caſe, I ſay, they erected his Tomb in the midſt of a vaſt Plain, and raiſed it upon great Pieces of Timber, to a very conſiderable height, after the manner of a Scaffold. This Tomb was nothing elſe but a very large Bier or Coffin; for beſides the Body of the King, it was to contain all the Officers, and others above-mentioned, which were

Barbarous *Mauſoleum*, or Royal Tomb of the *Tartars*.
* *Ibid.*

ſlung into it, as faſt as they were ſlaughter'd. To which they added ſeveral Ornaments of the deceaſed Prince, with a great ſtore of Veſſels of Gold; covering the whole with a large Carpet, upon which they, laſt of all, laid abundance of earth above three foot high.

AT the Years end, they met in great numbers at the ſaid Tomb, where they kill'd fifty Pages of the late King, with as many Horſes; both which they ſtuff'd up with ſtraw, after they had unbowell'd them; and then they placed theſe Horſes upon ſeveral wooden arches, as if they had been running a galop, and faſten'd the Bodies of the Pages upon them; which was in their opinion, the moſt magnificent pomp they could fancy or think of, wherewith to honour the memory of their Kings; which indeed ſuited very well with their barbarous manners, as more becoming Beaſts than Men.

AND now we are ſpeaking of ſuch barbarities as theſe, it will not be

be a-miſs to give an hint of ſeveral other Nations, which have left us very ſad and amazing tokens of their cruelty in this behalf, though they were of opinion they could no better way expreſs their reſpects to the Dead. Some did provide for them Living Graves, cauſing them either to be devour'd by Beaſts, or eaten by Men. Others gave them Fiery Sepulchres, by conſuming them ſeveral ways by fire. Others Watry Burials, by caſting them either into the Sea, Rivers or Lakes. Others made uſe of Airy Obſequies, by hanging them in the Woods, or in their own Houſes; and others, Terreſtrial ones, by letting them lye unburied on the face of the ground.

CHAP. X.

Living Sepulchres.

WE need not have our recourſe to Fables, to find out inſtances of Living Graves, or Sepulchres; nor with the Poets, to advance here the ſtory of *Saturns* eating his own Children: Neither is it neceſſary to go as far as *Caria* in ſearch of the famous *Arthemiſa*, who being not able ſufficiently to expreſs the love ſhe had for the King *Mauſolus* her Husband, did not content her ſelf to erect him a moſt magnificent Tomb, after his Death (which has been accounted for one of the wonders of the World, and from which the ſtatelieſt Monuments of all ſucceeding Ages have derived their name) but moreover mingled his very Aſhes with her drink. There are ſo many Hiſtorians, that relate a thouſand inſtances of greater

Graves in the Bodies of Men.

ter cruelty, than theſe, that the truth of them * can ſcarcely be queſtion'd. *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, *Mela*, and *Solinus* tell us, of ſeveral Nations of *Aſia*, that would have thought themſelves guilty of the greateſt impiety, ſhould they have let their Dead corrupt in the Graves, and become a repaſt for worms. Wherefore as ſoon as any one was Dead amongſt them, they did cut the Body to pieces; and mixing it with their uſual Meats, Mutton, Beef, or the like, they ate it with a ſingular guſt and devotion. Yea, the neareſt relations of the Dead, made this a matter of much joy, and with a great deal of ceremony, invited one another to theſe Feaſts, to eat the Body of ſuch a one, much in the ſame manner, as we invite our Friends to attend the Funeral of a deceaſed Friend or Relation. In a word, to devour the Dead, was to pay him their laſt Duty, and the higheſt mark of the reſpect and affection they had for him; in which

* *Herodot. l. 4. Strab. l. 11. Mela l. 2. Solin. c. 19.* Cruel piety of ſome people.

they out-vied the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*; that Philoſopher maintaining only a *Metempſychoſis*, or the tranſmigration of Souls into other Bodies, whereas theſe put in practice the tranſmigration of dead Bodies into living ones. *Horatius* * tells us in his Poems, that the old *Iriſh-men* and *Britains* uſed this inhumane cruelty only on the Bodies of Strangers: ‖ but *Tertullian* aſſures us, that this monſtrous piety was univerſal among, and exerciſed by them upon all ſorts of men; and as they uſed neither Interments, nor Burnings, they devoured the Bodies of their own Country men, as well as thoſe of Foreigners, when they were Dead. So that what thoſe fore-cited Hiſtorians do relate only of the Inhabitants of *Pontus*, of the *Maſſagetes*, *Hyrcanians*, *Derbices*, and ſeveral other *Aſiaticks*, we find confirmed in *Europe*, to demonſtrate, that however barbarous this Cuſtom ſeems to be, yet it cannot well be doubted, but that ſuch there have been.

* *Horat. l. 1. Od.*

‖ *Tertul. cont. Marc.*

been. Nay, their cruelty went further in reſpect of old people; for as ſoon as they were come to ſeventy years of Age, * without ſtaying for Death's call, they rid them of the miſeries of old Age, by knocking them in the head, or cutting their throats, and then made a Feaſt of them; and * what was yet more horrid, was, that the Children only were thought fit to diſcharge this bloudy office, being oblig'd by the Laws of the Land to take a Knife and murther their Parents themſelves: Neither were they wanting to defend and maintain this their extream inhumanity, with many ſpecious reaſons and pretences. For example, they, to juſtifie their impious murther, alledged, that Man's life, after ſeventy years of Age, being nothing elſe but a compoſition of pain and trouble, they were in duty bound to free thoſe from it, who had brought them into the World, that they might thereby prevent their miſerable languiſhing;

* *Zenodot. in Collect. Cent. 5.*

* *Hieron. contr. Jovin.*

and added, that after their Death they could give them no higher expreſſion of gratitude and duty, than by feeding upon them; becauſe by that means their Parents became one and the ſame ſubſtance with them, as they themſelves were before they were born.

The bodies of wild Beaſts made uſe of for Sepulchres.

THE *Parthians* * and *Medes*, as likewiſe the *Iberians*, and Inhabitants of the City *Taxyla* in the *Eaſt Indies*, had ſuch an horror and averſeneſs for the corruption of the Dead, and their being eaten by Worms, that they expoſed them in the open Fields, to the end they might be there ſpeedily devour'd by the wild Beaſts; accounting nothing more unworthy, and unbeſeeming the excellence of man, than to rot and putrifie in the Earth; and become the prey of ſuch pitiful and loathſome Inſects after his Death, who while alive could not ſuffer ſo much as one of them about him. Beſides they believ'd, that if he were devour'd by Beaſts, he would not

* *Hyg. Fab.* 274.

be

be totally extinct; and that being no more able to live in an humane Body, he would at leaſt enjoy a life in the bodies of thoſe Animals, that had fed upon him.

Graves in Dogs bellies.

FOR this very purpoſe alſo the *Bactrians* * fed Dogs, which they call'd *Canes Sepulchrales* (or Grave-dogs) and took a very particular care of them, that after their Death their Souls might not want a healthful, ſtrong and luſty Body to reſide in. Oh unheard-of folly and madneſs! thus to cheriſh thoſe Creatures, that were one day to tear and rend them with their teeth; and (what was more) to make much of them only upon that account! We naturally abhor an Hangman, becauſe his ſole employment is to butcher Men; how then (may we think) can thoſe people look kindly on Creatures, that are to be their own Executioners? Or how can they with premeditated deliberation keep and feed them on purpoſe for this inhumane and barbarous piece of

* *Sil. l.* 13. *Agel. l.* 10. *Juſt. l.* 41.

of ſervice? Nevertheleſs moſt certain it is, that they regarded this as a great point of their felicity: For *Cicero* tells us, that they made it no leſs their glory to feed thoſe Dogs very high, in order to make them grow fat and luſty, than the *Romans* did to build ſumptuous Tombs. And S. *Hierom* adds, that ſo great a veneration they had for this kind of Burial, that *Nicanor*, who by *Alexander* the Great, was made Governour over them, going about to ſuppreſs and aboliſh this inhumane cuſtom of theirs, had like, not only to have cauſed a revolt of the whole Province, but alſo to have been by them maſſacred, as an impious and ſacrilegious perſon.

Burying in the bodies of Birds.

* *Ælian.* l. 10.

TO which we may add the Cuſtom of the *Barceans*, which ſeems no leſs extravagant; who * were of opinion, that the moſt honourable Burial was to be devour'd by Vultures: And that, not only becauſe thoſe Birds by their long lives did repreſent Eternity, but chiefly becauſe

cauſe they were conſecrated to *Mars*, and that Nature appears to have appointed them for that very uſe; they being continually ſeen hovering about dead Bodies: So that all perſons of Worth and Quality, that either died amongſt them, or fell in War, fighting couragiouſly for their Country, were immediately expoſed in ſuch places, where Vultures might readily come at, and make a prey of them. As for the common people, together with thoſe that died on their Bed, of a Natural death, they were (in a manner) out of contempt, flung into a Grave, as not being eſteemed worthy to have a Burial in the bellies of theſe ſacred Birds.

THE *Hyrcanians*, which I have above mentioned, made ſome diſtinction between Men and Women; for they did eat the former; whereas they buried the latter, as thinking them unworthy to have their bellies for their Graves. Though methinks theſe above all deſerved that

that honour (ſuppoſing this barbarity might be ſo called) ſince they had but done the like for them, as having carried them nine months in their wombs.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Fiery Sepulchres.

THE *Grecians* and *Romans* were not the only Nations that uſed to Burn their Dead; the *Germans* and **Gauls* were alſo wont to do the like. But we intend not to ſpeak here of any, except of thoſe people which we account *Barbarians*, becauſe their Cuſtom herein is much more cruel, than that of the fore-mentioned. The Reader then may pleaſe to know, that ſome of them Burnt themſelves, caſting themſelves alive into the Fire; others caus'd themſelves to be ſtab'd before, upon the Wood-pile; and others were reduc'd to Aſhes after their dead Bodies had lain a good while corrupting in the Fields, amidſt a huge heap of other ſtinking and rotten Carcaſſes.

People that uſed to Burn their Dead.

* *Cæſ. de Bel. Gal. l. 6.*

THEY

People that burned themselves. *Tacit. de mor. Germ. Sidon. apol. Ap. 2. Sil. l. 10. Plut. de Placit. philos. Cic. quæst. acad. l. 4.*

THEY who were wont to Burn themselves, were a certain Sect amongst the *Indians*; who therein imitated their Doctors, called *Brachmans*, who by an extraordinary courage and fortitude, or to speak more properly, by a kind of madness and frenzy, sought in the flames that Life of light, which they preached to the people, who seeing them thus desirous of Death, and with so great joy thrust themselves into the Fire, were soon won to this strange Doctrine and Opinion, That there was no greater happiness attainable, than that to which men were ushered-in through the flames.

Their foolish Opinions.

THEY also believed that their participation of that felicity, was different, according to the more or less healthful condition they were in, when they thus sacrificed themselves; that is to say, That they were the most happy, and eternally enjoy'd a * most pure light, without the least mixture of darkness, who burn'd themselves in their youth and

* *Quintil. Declam. l. 10.*

and the full vigour of their age; whereas they that put it off, till a further date, did proportionably, as they grew old, and their ſtrength diminiſh'd, loſe ſome degrees of thoſe enjoyments; that old people did only partake of a dim and obſcure light; and that they who were Burnt after their Death, very ſeldom ſaw that light but aſleep, and as it were in a dream. Whence it was, that in former times very few Aged perſons were found among this People, moſt of them preferring the beauty of that Eternal Light, which they expected to enjoy in another Life, before the pleaſures and contents of this; ſo that very few of them ever died in their beds: And when it accidentally fell out, that any did, if it was the Husband that died of ſickneſs, his Wife, if he had but one, or his moſt beloved, if he had many, did burn her ſelf alive with his Body; and if it were a Woman that was Dead, her Huſband did the like. For which ſtrange

ſtrange cuſtom of theirs they alledged this reaſon, That as one of the two by burning himſelf alive, would enjoy a perfect happineſs, and be continually with the other; ſo he might from time to time awake his yoke-fellow out of that deep ſleep, which had ſeized him in this Life, and would as much as in him lay, make him conſider and take notice of the variety of luſtrous objects and pleaſures of the Light. Which Duty, if one of the Couple refus'd to pay to the other, he was the reſt of his days look'd upon as an infamous and unworthy perſon, and ſcarcely admitted into any company.

NOW as it would have been a great default, and very unbeſeeming the felicity they had in their Eye, for any one to caſt himſelf unwillingly, and with reluctance, into the Fire, or to utter any ſighs or out-cries whilſt they were burning; ſo their cuſtom was to repair to the place where they were to devote them-

themſelves to the devouring flames, accompanied with the noiſe of muſical Inſtruments, being embraced, hug'd, careſſed, endeared and applauded by all the ſpectators, who made no other ſhew, than as if they were jealous of their good fortune; earneſtly praying them to be favourable to them in the other World. Beſides, thoſe Wood-piles on which they were to be conſumed, were uſually made in holes and deep places, and abundance of Wood was flung upon them, as ſoon as they had leap'd into the Fire, amidſt the applauſes and rejoycings of the whole company; who with their loud ſhoutings, together with the depth of the place, and extremity of the fire, made that the party could not poſſibly be heard, whatever their out-cries or lamentatings might be, when they felt the cruel flames invading of them.

Means us'd to hide ſomewhat of the horror of this ſolemnity.

THE *Herules*, who in ancient times dwelt along the River *Danubius*, were burnt after another man-

People that beg'd to be Burnt.

Senec. de clem. Curt. l. 8.

ner, when they were grown either old or ſickly: For being of a Warlike humour, and not able to endure a languiſhing condition, they were wont to go and beg their neareſt Relations to rid them of a life, which was become burthenſom to them, and ſo put an end to their miſeries and ſuffering. Which was never denied them, or gainſaid; but on the contrary, every one commended and applauded them, for having taken that reſolution of themſelves; becauſe in that ſtate of extream old age or ſickneſs, they were lookt upon by all with ſcorn and contempt: Beſides, if they had died in that condition, they muſt have been buried without any Ceremonies, as cowardly and baſe perſons. Wherefore when any thus freely offered themſelves, all their Relations met together with great joy, to appoint a day for the ſolemnizing of theſe *Living Obſequies*, and in the mean time, made preparation of all things for it.

THESE

THESE preparations conſiſted of a Wood-pile (which was made after the faſhion of a Bed) of diverſe diſhes of ſuch Meats, as the perſon to be ſacrificed lov'd moſt, and in looking for a Godfather to take away his life; for it was not lawful for his Relations to do him that Office, but only to kindle the fire under him when he was Dead. The form of the Wood-pile, with its furniture, or ſetting forth.

AT laſt the fatal day being come, the party concerned was laid down on his ſide upon the heap of Wood, leaning on his Elbow; and then they ſerv'd before him the ſeveral Meats he had deſir'd, which whilſt he was eating with pleaſure, his Godfather took his aim ſo well, that running him through the heart, he kill'd him immediately. Which was no ſooner done, but they made a great noiſe, hollowing and ſhouting for joy; and the Wood being ſet on fire on all ſides, they in great merriment walked round about it, till all was burnt to Aſhes, all the while diſcourſing of the particulars *Saxo. Gram hiſt. Dan. l. 8.*

of his life, and extolling this his laſt courageous reſolution to the skies.

The *Thracians* nafty way of treating the Dead.

THE *Thracians* were not ſo cruel in this point; for they let people die of themſelves: But they had a moſt filthy way of heaping great ſtore of putrified Carcaſſes upon the dead Bodies, before they burnt them. As ſoon as any one was Dead, they carried him to the open Fields, where they left him all naked for the ſpace of many days, without taking any care of him; that is to ſay, without waſhing or embalming him; ſo that within a ſhort time he began to ſtink. On the morrow, and following days, they came to ſee in what condition the Corps was; and as oft as they came to view it, they ſacrificed diverſe Creatures, whoſe bodies they flung upon that of their deceaſed Friend; inſomuch that the place became at laſt ſo noiſom and ſtinking, by means of all thoſe putrifying Carcaſſes, that there was almoſt no coming near it. Then the Friends and Relations

Lact. l. 2. c. 10.

lations of the Deceaſed brought Faggots, and other combuſtible matters, and heaping the ſame upon the fore-mentioned Bodies, they burnt them all to Aſhes, which they afterwards buried in a Grave, they had to that end digged hard by.

SOME ſay, that the reaſon why they let them thus putrifie, and added to their own corruption that of other ſtinking and loathſom Carcaſſes, was to ſhew, that fire cleanſeth, and takes away all manner of filthineſs and impurity from Man, as well as other Creatures. But the chief and main reaſon of all thoſe, who burned their Dead, was grounded upon *Heraclitus*'s opinion, who held the Fire to be the Principle of all things; ſo that conſequently, to the judgment of that Philoſopher, by burning the Dead, they only returned them to that very original from whence they proceeded at firſt. Others were of opinion, that becauſe the nature of Fire is to mount

Their reaſons for ſo doing.

upwards continually, until it insensibly vanisheth away in the Air, it carried the most Spiritual and Volatile parts of the Body with it to Heaven.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Watry Burials.

THOUGH the cuſtom of caſting the Dead into the *Water be no leſs barbarous than the former, yet has it been practiſed by ſeveral Nations, as the *Hyperboreans*, or thoſe who inhabit near the *Artick Pole*, the *Pannonians*, ſome Inhabitants of *Ethiopia*, called *Ichthyophagi*, becauſe they lived altogether upon Fiſh, as alſo they of *Chios*; who nevertheleſs differ'd among themſelves, as to the place: for ſome of them flung their Dead into Lakes; others into running Waters, and others again into the Sea; every one of them having, for his ſo doing, particular reaſons.

*Diod. l. 5. Plin. l. 4.

Particular reaſons of thoſe that caſt the Dead into the Sea, Rivers or Lakes.

THEY that caſt them into the Sea, did it, that they might the longer be preſerved by the Salt and

Laert. l. 9. sharpneſs of that Water. Thoſe that flung them into Rivers, would thereby intimate, that as by the current of the Water they were carried into the vaſt *Ocean*, ſo by the whole courſe of their lives they had been paſſing towards Eternity, into which they were now at laſt launched by Death. And they who committed them to Lakes, which are ſtanding Waters, intended thereby to expreſs the reſt and repoſe the Dead meet with in the other World, after all the tempeſts and traverſes of this, which is nothing elſe but a boiſterous and raging Sea.

Univerſal reaſons for their caſting the Dead into the water.

BESIDES thoſe particular reaſons, they had ſome that were more general and * common. The firſt of which was, that ſeeing the Dead † *Mela, l. 3.* turn to corruption, and become very loathſome and filthy, they perſwaded themſelves they could make no better proviſion againſt the ſaid noiſome putrefaction, than by caſting them into the water, becauſe that waſheth and cleanſeth every thing.

Ano-

Another reaſon (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* relates it) was, ‖ becauſe the water being accounted a ſacred Element, they thereby thought to hallow and conſecrate the Dead. A third was, that ſince according to *Thales*'s opinion, who was one of the Seven Wiſemen of *Greece*, all things were made and conſiſted of Water, the Bodies of Men were by this means reſolved into that firſt principle, from whence they had their beginning. And laſtly, becauſe being for the moſt part People that inhabited the Sea-Coaſts, and fed generally upon Fiſh, they conceived it but reaſonable, that their Bodies ſhould, after their death, be the food of Fiſhes; as during their life-time, they had made them their nouriſhment.

‖ *Clem. Alex. in protrept.*

Cic. l. 1. de nat. Deor. Agath. l. 1. Ariſt. 1. Metaph. 3.

AND ſo ſweet and eaſie did many of them fancy this way of Burial to be, and had ſo much reſpect for it, that not being able to wait for their natural Death, when in an orderly way they might be made

Such as caſt themſelves into the water.

made partakers of it, after having made themſelves merry by exceſſive eating and drinking, they went and caſt themſelves, of their own accord, either into the Sea, or ſome River, thereby to antedate their conceited bliſs and happineſs.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Airy Obſequies.

IT is a ſtrange thing, that the Gallows, which by us is lookt upon, as the moſt infamous of puniſhments, ſhould with ſome People be eſteemed ſo honourable, that they give no other Sepulchres to their dead Friends; and which amongſt others is had in ſuch veneration, that they grant this advantage only to their Soveraign Princes and great Lords.

I KNOW that Woods have been formerly had in great reverence, and that they were accounted moſt Sacred Places: not only from the teſtimony of profane Authors, who give this character of them; but this truth is alſo by ſeveral Texts of Scripture confirmed to us. For we read in *Geneſis*, that

* *Sil. l. 3. Ælian. l. 4.* Woods accounted Sacred.

Abraham

[*This ſavors of Idolatry and Superſtition.*]

Abraham planted a Wood in *Berſabe*, where he called upon the Name of the Lord; and that *Jacob* thought he could not give a more decent Grave to *Deborah* (Nurſe of his Wife *Rebecca*) than by burying her under an old Oak.

INDEED this veneration for Woods and Solitary Places, is in a manner natural; for the *Pagans* themſelves, which were led only by the light of Nature, have acknowledged this verity; and amongſt others, *Virgil* ſpeaks of all Woods and Foreſts, as ſo many Temples: In theſe our *Druids* erected Altars for their Sacrifices; and here alſo it was all Antiquity believed the Gods made their ‖ uſual abode. For beſides the *Oreades*, or Nymphs of the Mountains, the *Dryades*, thoſe of the Woods, and the *Fauns* and *Satyrs*, or Gods of the Fields; we read that ſome of them were conſecrated to *Apollo*, others to *Diana*, and ſuch like pretended Divinities. Whereupon *Pauſanias* tells us, that Perſons

‖ *Apol. l. 3. Nicol. ap. Stob. ſerm. 122.*

Perſons of the higheſt Quality, in ancient times, had their Sepulchres in Woods; and *Plato* was of opinion, that none but Men of great worth and excellence ought to be interred there: *Cicero* in his Defence of *Milo*, takes the Woods to witneſs, as being Holy places, and the uſual Cœmeteries of great and virtuous Men.

Profanation of Woods, by making them ſerve for Funeral Gibbets or Gallows.

BUT if we ought to commend this cuſtom of burying the Dead in the Woods, which were formerly accounted very Sacred; we muſt needs abhor the practice of thoſe that profaned and polluted them, * by making them ſerve for Gallows, and thereby expoſing them to the character of the moſt ‖ infamous places imaginable. Thus the Inhabitants of *Colchos*, and the *Tibarens*, a People of *Scythia*, made a piece of Religion of it, to hang the dead Bodies of their Relations upon Trees, for an horror to Spectators, and for a prey to the Fowls of Heaven; and the ancient *Goths* and *Swedes*, could

* *Ver.* 1.

‖ *Olaus. l.* 16.

could think of no better way to ſhew the veneration they had for their Princes after death, than by fixing them to a Gibbet. Surely we muſt ſuppoſe theſe Men worſe than *Barbarians*, to fancy that an honour, which indeed is the greateſt infamy in the World; and to eſteem that a Religious and Pious duty, which indeed is the extremeſt impiety and undutifulneſs that can be conceived. What honour can a Body be thought to receive, by ſuffering a loathſome corruption in the Air, or by being expoſed in a ſhameful nakedneſs, which daily grows more ugly, diſcoloured and frightful, or to be toſt to and fro, and become the ſport and may-game of the wavering Winds? Certainly it appears to me, that even according to the dictates of Nature, nothing can be more horrid or inhumane. This is the reaſon why our Laws appoint the ſame as a Puniſhment and juſt reward of the moſt hainous offenders and notorious Criminals; and which makes

makes as great an impreſſion on our minds, to deter us from like crimes, as to ſee a Man loſe his life by the hands of the Hang-man. Neither can I imagine what way theſe barbarous People have to puniſh the wicked, ſince they make uſe of Gallows to honour Perſons of worth; except one ſhould ſay, that being *Barbarians*, Vice is had in eſteem and veneration amongſt them, as Virtue is with us, and that according to their natural brutiſhneſs, they pay the Duty of Burial only to ſuch, who by their wicked actions have made themſelves famous amongſt them.

Bodies hung up in Houſes inſtead of Burial.

AGAIN, what a fine ſhow is it, to ſee a Room hung full of dried Carkaſſes or *Mummies*? Surely theſe are rarities, that one would think cannot give much ſatisfaction or delight to thoſe that have them continually in their Eyes. It's true, that we preſerve ſome *Mummies* amongſt us, which we conſider rather as curious Figures, than as humane Bodies,

dies, that ever had life, becauſe they are from remoteſt Countries brought to us, who never knew the leaſt thing of the Perſons they once were. But there are none to be found, how cruel ſoever he may otherwiſe be, that ever went about to make ſuch *Mummies* of his Friends or Relations, in order to keep them in his Houſe, and continually have them before his eyes. The ſole Idea of which impiety we abhor, and cannot blame them ſufficiently, who have acted ſuch things: which they could never have done, and thus infamouſly diſhonour'd their Relations, had they not ſhaken hands with all Humanity and Moral reſpects.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Terreſtrial Funerals.

IT is a difficult matter to relate all the ridiculous ways, which ſeveral barbarous Nations had to diſpoſe of their Dead, and to pay their Friends and Relations their laſt duty. And though we can ſee nothing in their Funeral Ceremonies, but what is either fooliſh, impious or cruel, yet were they by them look'd upon, as ſolemn and neceſſary performances. For can a body imagine any thing more brutal and extravagant, than the cuſtom of the *Troglodites*, a People of *Africa*? who ſtript the Corps ſtark naked, bound up * the Feet to the Head with a great rope, and having thus made a kind of round Ball of it, they expoſed it upon ſome high place, turning its back-ſide to the Spectators, by

Extravagant manner of burying the Dead, uſed among the *Troglodites*

* *Mela l.* 2.

which ridiculous poſture, the whole Company was put into a fit of merriment and laughter, inſtead of weeping and mourning for him; and in the midſt of this merriment, they began to caſt ſtones at him, till at laſt they had cover'd him under the heap, on the top whereof they planted a Goats horn, and then turned their backs upon it, without any the leaſt ſign or ſenſe of grief or regret.

Cruel cuſtome of thoſe of *Majorca* and *Minorca*. * *Ortel. ad fin. theat.*

THE Inhabitants of the Iſlands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, which lye on the Coaſts of *Spain*, had another cuſtom yet more cruel, and as extravagant as the former. * They took the dead Body, and chopped it into a thouſand ſmall pieces, which they carefully gathered, and put up in an Earthen Pot, and afterwards overwhelmed, and covered it with a great heap of Stones.

Pleaſant manners of ſome other People.

THE three other ways of Burying, I have yet to ſpeak of, are very pleaſant: The firſt is that of the *Phrygians*, who, to give more honour to their Prieſts, than to Layperſons,

perſons, were uſed in ancient times, when any one of them was dead, to ſet him upright upon a Pillar of ten fathoms high; as if he were to continue, from thence, to inſtruct the People. The ſecond is of the *Naſamonians*, that inhabit ſome parts of *Lybia*, who in acknowledgment of the perils and pains their Captains and Souldiers had undergone, for the good of their Country, clothed them in White, after their Death, and inſtead of burying their Bodies, expoſed them on Rocks and other ſolitary Places. And the third and laſt, is that of the *Macrobians*, a People of *Ethiopia*, who covered their dead Bodies all over with a fine ſhining Plaiſter; and encloſed them in hollow Glaſs-pillars, keeping them in the beſt part of their Houſe, offering the firſt-fruits of all things to them, and carrying them at the end of every Year, in Proceſſion, round about the City. *Herodot. l. 4.*

CHAP. XV.

Funerals of the *Ancient Jews.*

TWO ſeveral times are to be diſtinguiſhed in relation to the Ceremonies of this People, which render them very different one from another. The firſt is from their Patriarchs, or Law-giver *Moſes*, to the Birth of the Saviour of the World. And the other from that moſt Bleſſed Birth down to this day. For as thoſe of former times were well conſtituted, holy and reaſonable, as being inſpired by God himſelf; ſo theſe which they uſe of latter days are moſt ridiculous, being grounded merely upon the fooliſh dreams and idle fancies of their *Rabbis*, or Doctors. Therefore we ſhall treat of both by themſelves, not only to avoid confuſion, but to make us abhor the Superſtitions of thoſe miſe-

miſerable wretches, who daily ſink themſelves deeper into darkneſs and blindneſs.

What perſons were appointed to Bury the Dead.

IN former times their Dead were buried by perſons of the ſame Sex; Men only being permitted to meddle with the Bodies of Men, and Women with Female Bodies; which was very ſuitable and decent.

The manner of their Burial.

AS ſoon as any one of them was Dead, thoſe who were appointed to pay him the laſt duty, did firſt ſhut his eyes, cloſed his mouth with a Fillet, and cut off his Hair. Next they waſh'd his Body very well, and perfumed it with ſeveral drugs, which were more or leſs coſtly, according to the quality of the Deceaſed; and then wrapping it up in a Winding-ſheet, they laid it in a Coffin. *Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic. c. 1.*

IN the mean time, people from all parts, that is, as well thoſe of the ſame Town or City, as adjacent places, came to condole with, & comfort the Relations of the Departed: *Id. ibid.*

And as the multitude was very great in the houſe of the Deceaſed (where great lamentations were made) as likewiſe in the Streets, through which the Corps was carried to the Grave; and that in both places people were very ſplendidly treated and feaſted; ſo the expences thereof oft amounted to ſuch an exceſs, that many of them were thereby impoveriſhed; inſomuch that ſeveral not being able to undergo ſuch vaſt charges, abſented themſelves from the City, under ſome ſpecious pretence or other, for fear of expoſing their credit.

Inſtances of mourning.

WHICH Lamentations, together with the Multitudes of people attending the Corps to the Grave, were eſteemed of ſo great moment amongſt them, that they accounted thoſe accurſed, who were deprived of either of them. * This we learn, not only from their Tradition, but from ſeveral Texts of the Scripture. For inſtance in the two and twentieth Chapter of *Jeremiah*, that

* *L.1. Reg.* 6.31.

that Prophet ſpeaking of that impious King *Jehojakim*, declares from the mouth of God, that at his Funerals there ſhould be heard no ſad cries and lamentations of his Brothers and Siſters, nor of the reſt of the People. And likewiſe in the fifth Chapter of the ſecond Book of the *Maccabees* it is ſaid, * That that ungodly *Jaſon* was not mourned for, or bewailed at all. But on the contrary, they were eſteemed happy, who had thoſe laſt honours paid them; as it is recorded in the ſecond Book of *Chronicles*, Chap. 25. concerning the Death of the Illuſtrious *Joſiah*, when nothing but ſad moans and lamentations were to be heard every where, all the people bewailing that good and Holy Prince, and mixing his Name with their ſighs and mournful out-cries. Hence it was, that they ſpared nothing to induce people to mourn with them for their Dead, and deſired nothing more, than to have a numerous Aſſembly to attend them to their Graves.

* 2 *Macc.* c. 5. v. 10.

Burials ever us'd by the *Jews*.

FOR the *Jews* did never approve, either of Wood-piles, or any other barbarous ways, uſed by ſome Nations at the * Death of their Friends, but always committed their Dead to the ground; and ſo Sacred a thing was Burial among them, that even Strangers and Executed perſons were not deprived of that priviledge: Of both which we have ſo many inſtances, that we cannot poſſibly doubt of it. For beſides their common *Cæmeteries*, or Burying-places, by ſome call'd *Polyandria*, which were deſigned for Strangers and the Poor, both of City and Country; we read in the *GOSPEL*, that the Thirty pieces of Silver, that *Judas* had received for betraying his Maſter, were laid out in buying of a certain Field, which, from that time forward, was appointed and made uſe of to bury Strangers in.

* *Talm. p. 4. l. 3.*

The manner of Burying those that were Executed.

AS for thoſe that were puniſhed with Death for their Crimes, *Moſes* left a Law in the one and twentieth

tieth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, expreſly forbidding their remaining on Gallows till the next day; and enjoyning the taking of 'em down from thence, and burying them before Sun-ſet. Which Law has been ever ſince ſo exactly obſerved, that had they omitted once to do it, they ſhould have apprehended, that the ruine and devaſtation of their whole Country would have enſued. And *Joſephus* in his Book of *Antiquities*, explaining *Moſes*'s meaning, extends the force of this Law to Enemies themſelves; ſaying, that that Divine *Legiſlator* did thereby condemn all publick expoſing of the Dead to a gaſtly and noiſom putrefaction, as an exceſs of cruelty; That the Death they had ſuffered, was a ſufficient Puniſhment for the Crimes they had committed; that therefore it was a piece of high injuſtice to inflict a more ſevere penalty upon them, than they had deſerved, and (conſequently) that they were not to be deprived of Burial, which Nature

ture and Humanity had taught us never to deny to any, though the worſt of our Foes, or greateſt Malefactors. To which the ſame Hiſtorian adds, that even the very Inſtruments wherewith they had been put to death, were interred together with their Bodies; that is to ſay, the Gallows, if they were hang'd; the Stones, if ſtoned; or the Sword, if beheaded. And *Joſhua*, who was the Succeſſor of *Moſes* in the Government of the *Jews*, was very exact in the obſerving of this Law; for he never cauſed any one to be put to Death, either of the *Iſraelites*, or their Adverſaries, but that he gave them Burial the very ſame day.

Perſons Executed, and ſuch as kill'd themſelves, might be Buried in their Fathers Graves.

AND beſides all this, they granted Malefactors, yea even ſuch as kill'd themſelves, the favour of being Buried in the Graves of their Anceſtors. Thus we are told in the ſeventeenth Chapter of the Second Book of *Samuel*, that the Unhappy *Ahitophel*, when he ſaw that his counſel was not followed, went home

home to his houſe, where he hanged himſelf, and died; and that notwithſtanding he was buried in the Sepulchre of his Fathers.

AND as concerning perſons that were Executed, we read, that *David* not being able to deny the *Gibeonites* ſeven men of *Saul*'s Family, becauſe he had broke the Covenant, that had been formerly made upon Oath, between *Joſhua* and them; thoſe poor wretches being hang'd on ſo many Gallows, were, by the order of the ſame King, taken down from thence, and carried to the Grave of *Cis*, the Father of that Family, in the Tribe of *Benjamin*.

Burying-places.

AS for ſuch whoſe Funerals were celebrated with honour, their uſual Graves were hewn out of Rocks, in imitation of *Abraham*, who bought ſuch a Burying-place of the Children of *Heth*, in the Land of *Canaan*, for his Wife *Sarah*, Himſelf, and Poſterity. Of theſe Sepulchres or Graves, the *Talmud* ſtates the

the form and bigneſs, *viz.* That the Cave be no larger than ſix Cubits; that there be eight holes at leaſt in the bottom of it, to the end the Bodies which are laid down there, may lie ſeparately, and by themſelves; and that there be a little Porch, or Threſhold at the entrance, where the Corps may be ſet down, till the uſual Prayers be ſaid over it, and the Friends and Relations of the Deceaſed have given him their laſt Adieus, before he be ſhut up from their ſight.

Magnificent Sepulchres among them.

* *Caſaub. exercit.* 16.

NOW though theſe fore-mentioned Sepulchres were generally made uſe of, even for Perſons of the greateſt quality; yet was it alſo *lawful to make them more ſtately and magnificent; of which latter we find ſeveral inſtances among the *Jews*, that do not in the leaſt come ſhort of the moſt ſumptuous *Mauſoleums* of other Nations: Such amongſt others was the Tomb of *Helen*, Queen of the *Adiabenians*, who left her own Country, to embrace the

the Law of *Moſes*. This Princeſs did cauſe this Monument to be built for her near *Jeruſalem*, as we learn from *Joſephus* and S. *Jerome*, who ſaw the remains of it. And *Pauſanias*, who hath deſcribed the ſame, ſaith, that it conſiſted of three Pyramids, made with ſo much art and contrivance, that they were accounted ſo many wonders. Beſides, he tells us of another curioſity about this Sepulchre, which is no leſs admirable, and would (its like) be disbelieved, and paſs for a Fable, had it been recorded by an Author of leſs credit and reputation. This Monument (ſaith he) which was made all of Marble, had a door of the ſame Stone; that did once a year, at a certain day and hour open it ſelf, by means of ſome ſecret Art, or hidden Springs; and ſhut again of it ſelf, a little while after; though at any other time it might have been ſooner broke all to pieces, than opened by any induſtry or ſtrength whatſoever.

JOSE-

Joseph. l. 5. de Bel. JOSEPHUS and S. *Hierom* do also speak of the Tomb of the *Maccabees*, which they relate was erected by *Simon* the High Priest, in the City of *Modin*, the Birth-place of that Illustrious Family. It was made of white Marble, well polished, having a stately *Piazza* around it; at the entrance of which were seven great Pyramids placed on the top of as many Pillars, all of one piece. And yet this Structure, which indeed was very magnificent, was nothing in comparison of the carved work wherewith it was embellished and adorned, wherein were represented their Victories by Sea and Land, with several Trophies, and a thousand other marks of their Grandeur, with the greatest Art imaginable.

IN the third place, I shall speak * *Hegesip.* of that of *Daniel* *, who caused it to be built himself at *Ecbatana* in *Media*, at the time when he was the Favorite of the King of *Persia*. He ordered it to be made in the fashion of

of a Tower, which was wrought with ſuch extreme curioſity and art, that the World never yet ſaw its fellow, its contrivance being altogether ſtupendious and inimitable. *Joſephus*, whom I now quoted, and who himſelf ſaw it ſeveral ages after, ſays, that in his days, it ſeem'd to be yet ſtark new, and look'd then, as if it had been but juſt finiſhed; adding, that a *Jewiſh* Prieſt had an allowance given him to keep theſe both Day and Night, that no Body might ſpoil or damnifie that admirable Building; with whoſe beauty and extraordinary curioſity the Kings of that Nation were ſo much taken, that they ſince made uſe of it for their Royal place of Burial.

NOR is that which *Solomon* cauſed to be built at *Jeruſalem*, for his Father *David* and himſelf, to be omitted here; who being a moſt wiſe Prince, as the great and matchleſs things he atchieved in his life-time, do abundantly teſtifie, it is eaſie to

gueſs;

gueſs; that this Monument of his was a ſurpaſſing, curious and admirable Maſter-piece of Art; and wherein neither skill, nor riches were wanting, that might render it altogether wonderful and extraordinary. There was nothing in, or about it, but what was wonderful and ſurprizing; Nature and workmanſhip having beſtowed their utmoſt skill and greateſt Treaſures upon it. But that which I find moſt remarkable in it, is the place wherein he commanded the two Coffins for his Father and himſelf, to be placed; becauſe the ſame could never by any induſtry be found out; the inner part of the Vault or Cave being made in the faſhion of a Labyrinth. And Hiſtory informs us, that *Herod* being on a time obſtinately reſolved to find out this ſecret place, commanded ſome of his Men to break down certain ſtones, whoſe removal he thought might likely diſcover the concealed Royal Tombs, but was ſoon affrighted from attempting further,

ther, by the fire that iſſued forth in great flaſhes from it, and conſumed two of his Men upon the ſpot; ſo that beſides a rigorous Edict he publiſhed, whereby he ſtrictly enjoyned, that for time to come, none ſhould dare to attempt a like re-ſearch, he cauſed a very mean Sepulchre to be made hard by it for himſelf, by way of reparation of the wrong he had offer'd to it.

NEITHER ſhall I ſpeak here of the great Treaſures found in thoſe Sepulchres; for none can be ignorant of the vaſt Riches of all kinds, that were laid up therein, who conſiders, that thoſe Places being lookt upon as ſacred and inviolable among the *Jews*, every one of them carried thither the moſt rare and precious things they had, thinking them more ſafe there, without Guards, than in their own Houſes or Coffers. They were moſt commonly Lords, and Perſons of great Eſtates, who did ſo; as finding it too cumberſome for them

Two ſorts of Treaſures enclоſed in their Sepulchres.

to keep their Treaſures at home, by reaſon of their great Riches: as likewiſe Widows and Orphans, who were not capable of looking after, and managing what was their own.

BUT beſides thoſe riches which were kept there for the uſe of the Living, much was alſo encloſed in honour of the Dead. Hence it was that the High Prieſt *Hyrcanus*, ſeeing himſelf beſieged within the City of *Jeruſalem*, by *Antiochus*, Sirnamed *Pious*, took out of *David*'s Sepulchre, nine hundred Years after his Death, three thouſand Talents, whereof he gave a part to that Prince, to make him retire with his Army; and with the other he raiſed Souldiers, in order to put himſelf in a condition of preventing the like diſaſter for time to come. Out of which Sepulchre, *Herod*, a good while after, took a great number of Veſſels of Gold, Jewels, and other precious Ornaments. From whence we may eaſily conclude, that

that his Son *Solomon* had ſpared nothing to honour his Father's Memory. In like manner, we read in the Fourteenth Chapter of the Second Book of the *Kings*, that the *Chaldeans* did in their Invaſion of *Judea*, open all the Princes Sepulchres, for the ſake of the Treaſures they encloſed. And *Sozomene* tells us, that the Prophet *Zachariah*'s Tomb being opened in his days, a young Prince of the Royal Blood was found lying at his Feet, with a Crown of Gold upon his Head, and array'd in a moſt rich Robe, and other Princely habiliments.

Clearing of the firſt Objection.

THERE are two principal Objections, that may be made, concerning theſe Funeral Ceremonies of the *Jews*, which we ſhall here briefly endeavour to anſwer. The firſt is, *How it comes to paſs, that ſo great honours were by them paid to the Dead, ſince according to the* Moſaick *Law, none could touch them, without being polluted; inſomuch that thoſe who took care of their*

Burial, could have no fellowſhip with any, till after they had waſhed and purified themſelves? To this all the Interpreters do unanimouſly anſwer, that *Moſes* his intent was not thereby to ſignifie, that dead Bodies were abominable in themſelves; but that bearing the blemiſhes and ſtains of ſin, by their being deprived of life, they were to purifie themſelves, who had touched them, as if they had touched ſin it ſelf; Death being its proper and natural effect and reward.

Clearing of the ſecond Objection.

THE other Objection may be made concerning the honour of burning, ſo often mentioned in the Scripture; from whence ſome infer, that the Dead amongſt the *Jews* were ſometimes conſumed in the Fire, but without any ſufficient ground or reaſon for it, nothing (as hath been ſaid) being more contrary to the Cuſtome of that People. Wherefore we anſwer, that thoſe burnings mentioned in Scri-

Scripture, were quite of another nature, and muſt not be underſtood of Corpſes, but of ſweet-ſcented Woods and Perfumes, which they conſumed to a vaſt expence, at the Funerals of their Kings, and other Perſons of the higheſt Quality.

CHAP. XVI.

Funerals of the *Modern Jews.*

IN the deſcription I am about to make of the Funeral Rites of the Modern *Jews*, I might be thought to amuſe the Reader with an idle ſtory, but that they are well known to be authorized by the *Talmud* (which next to the Holy Scripture, is the Book of moſt eſteem amongſt them) and daily practiſed by all thoſe of that miſerable Sect, who live in theſe our days. Nevertheleſs, I muſt here advertiſe the Reader, that though indeed that which I relate be not a Fable (it being their conſtant belief and practice) yet I ſhall have occaſion to ſet down many things here, that ſeem the moſt extravagant ſtories imaginable; which for all that are the ground and foundation of theſe their Ceremonies.

BUT

BUT here we must needs observe some kind of order, to clear a matter that is of it self very obscure and intricate, by reason of a great number of punctilio's thereto belonging, which they account very essential: Therefore we shall first of all speak of their preparation for Death, when they are Sick. Next of their Death it self, with their Funerals: And last of all of their foolish Opinion concerning the Souls and Bodies after Death.

The manner of the *Rabbi's* visiting the Sick.

FIRST then; As soon as a *Jew* is given over by the Physicians, and they conclude he will die, the *Rabbi*, who has been called to take care of his Soul, comes to him in company with ten other persons at the least, and in the first place asks him, whether he believes the Coming of the *Messias*; whereto the Sick having answered in the affirmative, he sits down by his beds head, and the standers-by ranking themselves round about him, he bids the Patient to make his Confession with a

loud voice; the Form whereof is as followeth.

The Form of a dying Jew's Confession.

I CONFESS and acknowledge before thee, O Lord my God, the God of my Fathers, the strong and mighty God of every Spirit, that quickens and gives life to Flesh; That both my Life and Death are in thy hands; therefore I pray thee to restore me to health, to remember me, and hear my prayers, as thou didst those of King Hezekiah, *when he was sick. But if this be the time of thy last visitation upon me, and that I must die, I beseech thee mercifully to receive me into that* Paradise, *which thou hast prepared for the Just: Shew me the streight way to go to Eternal Life, and satisfie me with thy blessed presence. Praised be thou for ever, O Lord God, who heareſt the Prayers of thy Servants.*

Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic. c. 35.

THIS Confession is accompanied with a publick Declaration of his sins; though it be not so particular, but that he may keep to himself some things he thinks not fit to publish to all that are present, which he

Declaration of his sins.

he afterwards whiſpers in the Ear of the *Rabbi*, under pretence of asking him his advice touching the diſpoſal of his Eſtate, and making of his laſt Will and Teſtament.

WHEN this is done, he offers publick ſatisfaction for all the injuries by him done, or ſcandals occaſioned, either by his debaucheries, violence, or any private grudge or enmity, begging pardon of all thoſe whom he has offended, and proteſting that he likewiſe heartily pardons them who have done, or intended him any wrong. As for what concerns the ſatisfaction he is to make to GOD, he offers him no other, but that of his own Death, as ſuppoſing the ſame will ſufficiently expiate all his Sins: Wherein he perhaps does not miſtake, though he interpret it in another ſence; for beſides that temporal Death, which is generally allotted to all Men, for a puniſhment of their Sins, he is in great danger to ſuffer an eternal one, as a reward of his obſtinacy and unbelief.

Publick ſatisfaction given to all he has offended.

Satisfaction to God.

SOME

Publick Prayers on behalf of the Sick; and Alms.

SOME after they have given this ſatisfaction, deſire the publick Prayers of the *Synagogue*, and ſend as much money as they think fit to be diſtributed to the Poor. There

Change of their Name.

are others, who beſides theſe publick Prayers have their Name changed, as a mark of their entire and abſolute Converſion; ſo that when they are pray'd for, their former Name is not mentioned, but that which they have aſſumed during their Death-bed-penance. For example, the *Synagogue* applying themſelves to God on behalf of the

Id. ibid.

Sick, ſpeak thus; *O Lord, we beſeech thee, to have mercy on ſuch a one; he hath changed the Name he went by, when he offended againſt thy Laws, and is now called* N. N. *Do not therefore look upon him as an object of thy wrath; for if thou hadſt reſolved to puniſh him as ſuch, now thou muſt not, ſince he by this other Name he has aſſumed, is become another man: Whereupon we do hope, that thou wilt hereafter conſider him as a new Creature, and*

as

as a Babe that is but newly born.

IN ſhort, if the ſick perſon be in his Fathers houſe, he craves his Bleſſing; and if he himſelf is a Father of a Family, he calls his Children and Domeſticks unto him, to Bleſs them alſo. He gives and receives Bleſſing.

THEN from that time forwards they dare never leave him alone; becauſe they perſwade themſelves, that the Angel of Death, which is in his Chamber, would offer violence to him, were there none preſent to prevent it. Neither can they for all this ſo wholly oppoſe and hinder that evil Spirit, but that he does him a great deal of miſchief; for (as they tell us) he with a naked Sword in his hand, looks ſo frightful and terrible, that the Sick is thereby much diſcompoſed. At this Sword hang three drops, all of them very fatal to the Decumbent. The firſt that falls on him gives him his Death; the ſecond changes his colour, making him pale, wan and gaſtly: And the laſt Their fooliſh Opinion concerning Death.

laſt rots and turns him to corruption; ſo that he becomes noiſom and ſtinking.

Rending of Cloaths and Lamentations. *Elias Grammat.*

UPON his giving up of the Ghoſt, all that are preſent do, by rending their cloaths, and crying as loud as ever they can, expreſs the greateſt ſorrow imaginable; and immediately after, they fling all the water they have then in the houſe, out of the windows; as being of opinion, that this malignant Angel has waſh'd his Sword in it, wherewithal he killed him: And all the neighbourhood under a like apprehenſion, do the ſame. Neither is there need of any other notice, to make known to the reſt of the Town or City, that there is ſome body Dead in that part of it; for this abundance of water poured forth on a ſudden in the ſtreets, makes near as much noiſe, as the ringing of our Bells.

Reaſon why they fling out all the water they have in the houſe.

Another opinion as fooliſh as the foregoing, concerning the Angel of Death.

BESIDES they have another Opinion concerning this Angel, which is no leſs ridiculous. They ſay,

ſay, that ſome of their moſt zealous Doctors not being able to endure, that this Angel ſhould ſo cruelly torment and afflict the People (for they believe he was formerly much worſe than he is now) did by their continual prayers, ſo far prevail with God, that he deliver'd him into their hands; whereupon they having moſt ſtraightly bound him, put out his left eye; inſomuch that being now half-blind he can no more do them ſo much harm as formerly.

The manner of their interring the Dead.

NOW to prepare the Corps, in order to its Burial, they fetch freſh water, the cleaneſt they can get, which they boil with Camomil, dry'd Roſes, and ſuch like odoriferous, and ſweet-ſcented Herbs, and Flowers, wherein they waſh it very carefully; thereby to intimate, that Death has not only purged him from all his filthineſs; but made him of a good and pleaſant ſavour with God.

THIS

Concerning the white *Tunick.*

THIS done, they apparel him in a white *Tunick*, to ſignifie the innocence wherewith he now preſents himſelf before the Tribunal of the Soveraign Judge: They anoint his face with the yolk of an Egg, diſſolv'd and mixt with Wine; thereby to ſhew, that he ſhall not only taſte of the joys and comforts of the other Life, which are enclos'd in Gods boſom, as the yolk of an Egg is in its ſhell; but ſhall be made drunk therewith, as not being able to be ſatisfied; and continually drink the ſame in great draughts, till he has by vomiting, beſmeared himſelf all over. Then they put a Vail over his face, thereby to ſignifie, that ſince he is paſs'd into the other World, he is no more concerned to regard any thing in this. They likewiſe cover his head with his *Talled*, or ſhort Cloak of Ceremony; being in hopes, that as it hath been ſubſervient to him in this Life, on every Holy-day, to ſay his Prayers in the *Synagogue*, ſo will it likewiſe

The anoinning of his face.

Rab. Moſ. in Talm.

The Vail wherewith they cover his face.

His ſhort Cloak of Ceremony.

wiſe ſerve him ſtill in Heaven, during the long Sabbath of Eternity; and that he, after having adorned it with the ornaments of the Bleſſed, ſhall over and above crown the ſame with Glory. Out of this Cloak they pull ſeveral Threads, wherewith they tye his right Thumb, bending and bowing it ſo, as it may in ſome ſort expreſs the Name of God in the *Hebrew* Tongue; they making no queſtion, but that with this Mark he is ſecure from all the aſſaults of the Devil, who whilſt he ſhall thus hold his hand, can never drag him into Hell, where this Holy Name is not owned, or acknowledged; and therefore it is, that to tye this knot, they make uſe only of thoſe Threads which are taken from that ſacred Cloak; becauſe they don't believe there can be any other ſtrong enough for that purpoſe. Laſt of all, they lay him in a Coffin, with two clean Sheets, whereof the one is put under, and the other over him; making his head to reſt upon

Tying and beading of his Thumb.

His Sheets, Coffin, and Pillow.

a great ſtone, or on a Bag filled with Earth: To intimate by this hard Pillow, the ſteadineſs of that reſt he ſhall enjoy in the other Life, and by the cleanneſs of the ſheets he lies on, and is covered withal, the Light and Purity of that Bleſſed Life.

The manner of their attending the Funeral.

WHEN the Body is thus order'd, they carry it to the Grave, in a moſt confuſed and diſorderly manner, by reaſon that every one of the company will bear it by turns. Which they diſcharge with a great deal of Devotion, in a proſpect of thoſe great advantages God has prepared for the party deceaſed: And being arriv'd at the place of Burial, whilſt they nail the Coffin on the ſide of the Grave, the whole Company go ſeven ſeveral times, as it were, in proceſſion round about it; thereby to ſignifie, that as God created the World in ſix days, and reſted on the ſeventh from all his Works, ſo the pilgrimage of this tranſitory Life endures but for a very

Their reaſons why they take ſeven turns a-round the Coffin.

very little time, after which Men reſt from all the pains and Labours they have undergone, to all Eternity, which is repreſented by the number Seven.

WHICH number they alſo obſerve; with regard to the Dead, in three other Ceremonies. Firſt, in placing a lighted Wax-Taper by his Grave, or in the Chamber in which he dyed; where they let it burn for the ſpace of Six whole Days, and put it out on the Seventh. Secondly, in their great Mourning, which laſts ſeven days. And laſt of all, in the reſtleſneſs they expreſs at their firſt coming into their Houſe, after their return from attending the Funeral, by ſtarting on a ſudden from their place ſeven ſeveral times, as if they did not find themſelves at eaſe, in the ſix former removes they had made. Which reſtleſneſs and ſhifting of place, that is much like a piece of Mummery, and very childiſh, not to ſay fooliſh, is notwithſtanding by them aſſerted to repreſent

Why they cauſe a wax-taper to burn at the Grave for the ſpace of ſeven days. *Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic. c.* 32.

Why their great Mourning laſts ſeven days.

Why they ſhift their places ſeven times when they are come back from attending the Funeral.

ſent the inconſtancy of worldly things, which their deceaſed Friend might from the time of his Birth, to that of his Death, have eaſily taken notice of. Their mourning ſhews, that he ought not to have done any thing elſe, but weep and lament all the while he liv'd here: And the lighted Taper imports, that his Temporal Life is extinguiſhed at his arrival in Eternity. For, as I have above obſerved, the ſix Days repreſent the duration of time, which is but a reiterating or continuance of the firſt Week of the World. And the ſeventh ſignifies the Sabbath-day, which is the emblem of Reſt and Eternal Bliſs.

Elias Grammat. in Thesbit.

The manner of their Burial.

BUT now let us return from this ſo curious digreſſion, and ſpeak of the manner of their Burials. When the Coffin is nail'd, they let it down into the Grave, every one throwing in the Earth by handfuls, till it be quite fill'd up, and nothing left behind of what they had digg'd out, to make the hole; upon which account

account it is, that they beat it down and tread upon it, as hard as ever they can, ſo as every bit of Earth may go in; for they fancy, that if but one handful of the Mould ſhould remain, it were a ſign that the Ground would not harbour the Corps, no more than it could the Bodies of thoſe reprobates, *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, whom it having ſwallowed into its Entrails, let them fall down to Hell, not being able to endure them. Their reaſon,

WHILST the Body is burying, the *Rabbi* *, who has mutter'd ſeveral prayers, does laſt of all ſpeak to the whole Company, to this purpoſe: *We verily believe that the Foundation of the World is laid upon three things*; viz. *on the Law of* Moſes, *the Service of* God, *and Piety towards the Dead. Bleſſed therefore be he who rewards thoſe that are careful to diſcharge this Duty.* Then all the People turning their backs to the Grave, pluck up ſome Graſs at three ſeveral times, and Form of their Funeral Prayers. * *Buxtorf. ibid.* Reaſon why they pluck up graſs at three ſeveral times, and fling it behind their back.

and throw it over their Heads, rehearſing theſe words of the Pſalmiſt, ‖ *They of the City ſhall flouriſh like graſs of the Earth*: That is to ſay, that the Dead, by paſſing from this Mortal, to Eternal Life, ſhall riſe again to Glory; as the Graſs grows and flouriſhes again, after it is mown and cut down.

‖ *Pſal.* 72. 16.

Their reaſons for taking the Bed to pieces, on which the Body lay, and breaking of an earthen Pot.

MOREOVER it is to be obſerved, that as ſoon as the Dead is carried out of the Houſe; there are ſome in a readineſs preſently to take the Bed to pieces on which he died, who haſtily fold or double the Quilt, roll up the Coverings or Bed-clothes, leaving them confuſedly on the Mat, and run to the Windows to fling an Earthen Pot after the Coffin; thereby to intimate, that every thing is alter'd and broken now as to him, and that he has no more claim to any of the Goods, which he formerly was poſſeſt of.

Their great or cloſe Mourning.

WHEN the Relations are return'd from attending the Funeral, they have no ſooner recover'd home, but

but they begin their great or cloſe Mourning, which laſteth ſeven days, in the ſolemnizing whereof, they proceed in this order: Firſt of all, * they waſh their Hands, put off their Shoes and Stockings, and ſit down on the Ground, where they paſs their time in continual tears and lamentations, without doing any manner of work whatſoever; no not ſo much as dreſſing Meat for themſelves, their Friends all that while taking care to ſend them from their Houſes, whatever they ſtand in need of, ready prepared, according to their cuſtome; on the firſt day of their Mourning therefore they ſerve them with nothing elſe but hard Eggs, with a little Bread and Water, thereby to intimate they are very ſenſible, that their affliction is hard and heavy, and by eating of the ſame with them, how great a ſhare they take in it. But on the following days, they feaſt them well, eat with, and comfort them; and on the Sabbath-day the ſame Friends

* *Buxtorf. ibid.*

come to accompany them to the *Synagogue*; from whence they conduct them back to their own houſes, as ſoon as Divine Service is ended.

Their ſecond mourning.

THEIR ſecond ſort of Mourning, which they call mean or indifferent, laſts thirty days, during which they are not permitted, to waſh, perfume, or ſhave themſelves, or ſo much as cut their Nails. Neither do they all that time eat with their Families, but the Men invite ſome of their Friends, and privately take their repaſts with them; as the Women alſo do by themſelves (that is, without the Men) with ſome of their ſhe-neighbours, who come on purpoſe to keep them company, and work with them; for it is not lawful for a Husband to converſe with his Wife, nor for a Wife to do the like with her Husband, until the time of this Mourning be over.

The laſt and leaſt mourning.

AS for the laſt ſort of Mourning, it concerns only Children, who are not dreſs'd in black as with us; but

are

are obliged for a whole year to wear the ſame cloaths, which they had on, when their Father died; not being permitted to ſhift themſelves, though they be never ſo ragged and torn. They alſo celebrate a Faſt every Year on the ſame day; and for the ſpace of eleven months rehearſe the Prayer *Kaddiſch*, for the deliverance of their Parents Souls out of *Purgatory*; for they believe, that none but impious perſons abide there a whole year; but that the good do never remain in that place above eleven months, provided their Children repeat this Prayer for them every day; which Prayer they do not continue to rehearſe beyond the time fore-mentioned; becauſe every one of them has a good opinion of his Parents Virtue; there being no Child that thinketh his Father to have been a wicked and ungodly man.

Fabulous ſtory concerning the prayer *Kaddiſch.*

THIS Prayer is grounded upon a fabulous ſtory of Rabbi *Akiba*, who ſays, that being one day a walk-

walking in a remote and ſolitary place, he met with a man, who was loaden with ſo great a burthen of Wood, that no labouring Beaſt could ever have carried more; and that upon his demanding, whether he was a living Man or a Ghoſt, he anſwered him, that he was the Spirit of one Dead, and was forced every day to cut down ſuch a load of Wood, to feed the Fire, wherewith he was tormented in *Purgatory*. Whereupon he further asked him his Name, and that of his Family; which as ſoon as he had learnt, he repaired to the deceaſed's Children, and taught them this Prayer; withal aſſuring them, that their Father would in a little time be delivered from his ſufferings, in caſe they would rehearſe it conſtantly every day; which they having begun to do, the Dead appeared to them the next night, to return them thanks for the ſame, and let them know, that he was already entered into the pleaſant Garden of the terreſtrial

Paradiſe:

Paradiſe: And thereupon, theſe good tidings, together with a Form of this Prayer, were ſent to every *Synagogue* in the World, inſomuch as there is not one now but makes uſe of it. When the Deceaſed has no Children, the whole *Synagogue* aſſembled in a Body, by rehearſing this Prayer, do ſupply that want. But if he has any, he dies with abundance of joy and ſatisfaction; becauſe they ſuppoſe the ſaid Prayer more efficacious in the mouths of their Children, than in any others.

Reaſons of this their Superſtition.

AND what makes them ſo ſuperſtitious and ſtrict in the obſerving of ſo many petty Ceremonies, is becauſe their *Rabbis* tell them, * that the Soul not being able to enter into *Paradiſe*, as ſoon as it is ſeparated from the Body, haunts ſometimes its own houſe, ſometimes *Cæmeteries*, or Church-yards, and ſometimes the *Synagogue* it ſelf, to obſerve and take notice, whether in all theſe places they punctually pay their duties to their deceaſed Friend

* *Rab. Akib. in Talm.*

or

or Relation; not doubting, but that if they ſhould neglect any the leaſt circumſtance therein, they would be ſeverely puniſhed for it: For they do eſteem them ſo eſſential and abſolutely neceſſary for the Reſt of the departed Soul, that they are perſwaded it would never be by the Angels carried up into the Bed of God, there to repoſe to all Eternity, if but one ſingle punctilio ſhould be omitted in this ſervice; but that on the contrary it would be fain to wander up and down in a Region where it muſt meet with troops of Devils, that would moſt cruelly afflict and torment it.

THEY alſo believe, that when the Soul is upon the point, either of entring *Paradiſe*, or going down into *Hell*, ſeeing it ſelf obliged for ever to part and ſhake hands with its dear companion the Body, re-enters it again for the laſt time, and makes it to ſtand up on his feet: Whereupon the Angel of Death, with a chain in his hands (whereof one half

half is Iron, and the other Fire) gives him three ſeveral ſtrokes: With the firſt of which he puts all his bones out of joynt, making them fall confuſedly to the ground; with the ſecond he breaks and ſhatters them; and with the laſt he turns them all to duſt: After which the good Angels draw near, who having taken up all theſe broken pieces, lay them anew in the Grave.

Their fooliſh opinion concerning the Land of Promiſe, the firſt Principle of their Reſurrection.

LASTLY, they are perſwaded, that thoſe who are not Interred in ſome place or other of the Holy Land, ſhall never riſe again; and that all the favour God will be able to do them, ſhall amount to no more than this, That he will open ſome ſmall chinks, through which they may (though imperfectly) behold the abode of the Bleſſed; except they have by great merits, as continual Alms, and other good works, rendred themſelves worthy of it. And concerning theſe they ſay, that God, who is moſt juſt, and never leaves goodneſs and virtue unrewarded,

warded, ſhall provide for them hollow places in the Earth, through which their Bodies ſhall rowl continually, until they come to the Mount of *Olives*, which at the time of the Reſurrection, ſhall be cleft and divided into two parts, in order to its giving them a free paſſage, and that being arrived in this bleſſed Land, they ſhall riſe again, as well as others, who were buried there; for they fancy, that the meer touching of it, is ſufficient to capacitate them for that Bliſs and Felicity. Upon which account it is, that when they dye abroad, they give their Relations a ſtrict charge to tranſlate their Bones into *Chanaan*, as ſoon as ever they ſhall be able to do it.

Three ſorts of Perſons that are to riſe again.

NOR are their other Opinions concerning the Reſurrection of the Dead, leſs abſurd and ridiculous, than theſe their Ceremonies. They hold it as an Article of their Faith, that there are four things which God grants to none but *Iſraelites*, *viz.*

viz. Prophecy, the Law, the Land of Promiſe, and the Reſurrection; all others, whether *Heathens* or *Chriſtians*, being depriv'd of theſe advantages. To which they add, that there will be three ſorts of People which ſhall riſe again at the laſt day. The firſt ſhall be of thoſe that are abſolutely good; The ſecond of them who are ſtark nought; and the third of ſuch as are both good and bad. That the good ſhall be inroll'd among the number of the Bleſſed ones; the wicked reduced to nothing; and thoſe that are partly good and partly bad, after having remained for the ſpace of a whole Year in the fire, where their Bodies ſhall be conſumed, and their Souls purified, they ſhall at the laſt be received into Heaven. Their firſt opinion.

NEVERTHELESS, I find, that their opinion is not general, who think the wicked ſhall be annihilated, for there are ſome of them that believe the Pains and Torments of the Damned will be Eternal, and Second opinion.

that

that they ſhall never enjoy any the leaſt reſt, but on *Saturdays*, when (as they ſay) thoſe miſerable Souls have leave to go out of the Flames, and refreſh themſelves. Whence it is, that they take ſo much care of having Water ready in all their Veſſels, on that day; to the end the Damned may not be at the trouble of looking out for ſome, when they come to cool their burning and ſcorching heat.

The virtue and efficacy of the word *Amen*.

BUT I muſt not here omit ſpeaking of the virtue, which they attribute to the word, *Amen*, or *So be it* *; there being ſome of them who make more account of it, than of all their Prayers put together; for how long and prolix ſoever they be, they do not fancy them to have any efficacy at all, except they conclude them with an *Amen*, moſt fervently and devoutly pronounced; Inſomuch as all thoſe who frequent their *Synagogues*, may take notice, that after theſe People have with the greateſt haſt and precipitancy (ſuch as

* *Elias Grammat. ibid.*

The ſecond Principle of their Reſurrection.

as puts them out of breath) rehearſed whole Pſalms, they on a ſudden ſtop, and recollect themſelves at the end of each Pſalm, to ſay, *Amen*, with as much devotion as poſſibly they can; or elſe after a little pauſe, they utter it as loud as ever their ſtrength will give them leave. Either of which ways they think very fitting and becoming: for to ſpeak it ſoftly and demurely, ſhews their great inward devotion; as to utter it aloud, their zeal and earneſtneſs in declaring the praiſes of God, which they are ſo tranſported with, that they ſound forth their *Amen* with all the might they have.

NOW they are in no doubt, but that having thus pronounced this *Amen* here below, they thereby deſerve eternally to pronounce the ſame in Heaven; grounding this their Opinion upon two Pſalms of *David*; in one of which, after having given a large account of the greatneſs and glory of God, he concludes with a *Doxology* or Bleſſing of

of the Divine Majesty, and Seals it with a twice repeated *AMEN. Blessed for ever be the Lord God of* Israel, *AMEN and AMEN.* The first *Amen* (say they) is the *Amen* of Faith and Devotion, which ought here in this World to terminate all our Prayers, to the end, they may be meritorious: And the second is the *Amen* of Reward, that shall make us give thanks to God for all his Benefits vouchsafed to us. In the other Psalm the same Prophet having spoken of all the Praises due to God, concludes it with exhorting the People for ever more to bless the Holy Name of his Divine Majesty, and wishing every one in his own particular to answer to it, *So be it, So be it.*

Buxtorf. ibid. c. 26. MOREOVER they aver, that the pious pronunciation of this word is one of the most certain tokens of Election; that it distinguishes the good *Israelites* from the bad, and that it is impossible, but they must rise again to happiness, who in their Prayers

Prayers utter it with a great deal of faith and assurance, Nay, they go further, and say, that a sinner, how great soever he be, shall nevertheless deserve a glorious Resurrection, provided he doth signalize his devotion in the pronouncing of this Word. And that this may be apprehended, *Rabbi Judah* uses a comparison, which is no less gross, than this opinion or fancy is ill grounded.

A gross comparison concerning this opinion.

* *THE Case is the same* (says he) *with a great sinner, as with a Maid, who has given way to her being seduced and debauched in her Father's house, and thereby got a great belly.* * *Rab. Jud. in Talm.* *Her Mother transported with wrath, and not being able to suffer this blot and reproach to her Family, does at the first news thereof, turn her out of doors. Nevertheless, when the time of her delivery is come, and she hears her poor Daughter, amidst her extream pains, a thousand times calling upon her for help and pity; the Name of Mother, so often, and with so much passi-*

on repeated by a Daughter in ſo great grief and ſuffering, does at laſt move the Mother to compaſſion, and obtain her favourable regards: That only Name makes her forget her Daughter's misbehaviour, and effaceth all the Ideas *of averſation formerly conceived againſt her; ſhe cauſeth her immediately to be ſent for home, and takes all the care of her imaginable, letting her want nothing that may be requiſite for her in that condition. Thus it is with a great ſinner; though God have caſt him out of* Paradiſe, *by reaſon of his crime, yet he is ſenſibly moved with his Prayers, when they are concluded with a moſt devout* Amen. *At this word alone he remembers his ſins no more, and opens to him again the doors of Heaven, which before he had ſhut upon him in his wrath.*

THIS is ſo true (adds he) *that we our ſelves have a proof of it, of many Ages ſtanding, which cannot be queſtioned. For though we have often been driven out of the Land of* Canaan, *when we were carried in bondage to* Nine-

Nineveh *and* Babylon, *and now are ſcattered all the world over, and we cannot riſe again, but in that bleſſed Land; yet it is certain, that the Bodies of true* Iſraelites, *after having been for ſome time buried in another place, are rowling through deep Hollows and Caves, which God has made for that purpoſe, till they are arrived ſo far as under the Mount of* Olives; *from whence they are by the Spirit of God, that quickens them, tranſmitted into* Paradiſe.

Their fooliſh Opinion concerning the travel of the Dead into the *Holy Land.*

I HAVE thought this repetition would not ſeem tedious to the Reader; ſince it comes from one of the moſt famous Doctors of their Sect, whom they eſteem as an Oracle of their *Talmud*; and beſides, it confirmeth their extravagant and ridiculous opinion concerning the Reſurrection of ſuch as die out of the Land of *Canaan.*

WE will conclude this Chapter with a recital of the fabulous advantages they expect from their *Meſſias*, which are kept in ſtore for thoſe

The third Principle of their Reſurrection.

only who shall rise again: It is indeed nothing else, but the Description of their *Paradise* (properly so call'd) which hath no other foundation, but what they have laid for it in their foolish fancies. * They say, that as this Prince shall be invested with the Almighty strength of God, so no Tyrant will be able to withstand him; that he shall obtain a full and compleat Victory over all the then Kings and Potentates of the World, and deliver all the *Israelites*, who groan under the yoke of their cruel Governments, out of their hands. That having gather'd them all together, he shall lead them in triumph into the Land of *Canaan*, where they shall upon their first arrival, be suppli'd with rich and costly Garments, ready made to their hands, and fitted for all statures and sizes. That there also they will find all sorts of desirable Meats that can be wish'd for, which the Country shall bring forth, season'd and dress'd to every one of their

* *Rab. Jehos. in Talm.*

Advantages to be enjoy'd by the *Jews* in the Land of *Canaan*.

their Palats: That there they ſhall enjoy a pure and temperate Air, with moderate and pleaſant weather, which ſhall for ever keep them in perfect health and ſtrength, prevent their falling into any kind of ſickneſs, and lengthen the thread of their life beyond that of the Patriarchs, who lived before the Floud.

Feaſt of the *Meſſias.*

BUT all this is nothing, if compared with the Feaſt, which they fancy their *Meſſias* will make them, wherein among other rare and miraculous Viands, of which that glorious Entertainment ſhall conſiſt, the wonderful *Behemoth*, *Leviathan*, and ſtupendious Bird ſhall be ſerved. The firſt of which hath been a fatning ever ſince the World began; all the Graſs that grows upon a thouſand hills being but a repaſt of one day for him. The ſecond fills and takes up a whole Sea: And the laſt, when ſhe ſpreads her wings, clouds and eclipſeth the Sun. Moreover concerning this Bird, they tell us, that having on a time dropt one

Monſtrous Creatures that ſhall be ſerved at the foreſaid Feaſt.

of her Eggs from her Neſt, it beat down three hundred tall Cedars, and being broke, over-whelmed ſixty Towns and Villages.

A Publick ſhew of theſe Creatures.

TO this they add, that before they be ſerved at this great Entertainment, the *Meſſias* ſhall expoſe them for the ſport and diverſion of his people, by making them fight together: Which certainly will be a very curious and extraordinary ſhow. For beſides the monſtrous and wonderful Bulk of theſe Creatures, which are to combat one another, no Theatre ever exhibited the like Antagoniſts, *viz.* a Bull, a Fiſh, and a Bird, fighting together. But it ſeems this extraordinary *Meſſias* (as they fancy) muſt do extraordinary things, even beyond all humane conceit and apprehenſion.

Id. ibid. & Rab. Bab.

Monſtrous Creatures in his Palace.

THEY likewiſe ſpeak with a great deal of ſerioufneſs and wonder, of a Raven and Lion, which for a mark of his Grandeur, he ſhall keep in his Palace: The former whereof, they tell us, did at a certain time

ſwallow

ſwallow down a Serpent, that had devour'd a Frog as big as a Village of ſixty houſes, making but one mouthful of both, much after the ſame manner as a Fox would in a trice diſpatch a bit of a Pear, ſays *Rabbi Babha*, who aſſures us to have been himſelf an Eye-witneſs of it.

AND as concerning the latter, *viz.* the Lion, my Author *Rabbi Jehoſhua* ſays, that a *Roman* Emperor having once heard of him, and taking the Report for a Fable, commanded him, upon pain of death, to bring this Animal to him; which Order he being, by the authority of the Commander, and ſtrictneſs of the Injunction, forced to obey, appli'd himſelf with Prayers to God to that purpoſe, who having granted him leave to ſhew this Creature to the Emperor, he went in ſearch of him in the Wood of *Ela*, where his uſual abode and retreat was; but that when he was advanced with him, within a thouſand and four

hundred paces of *Rome*, he then began to roar so loud, that the dreadful noise made the Women, that were with Child in the City, to miscarry, and like an Earth-quake, threw down the walls level with the ground. All which notwithstanding, trying to proceed further with this Lion, and being come a thousand paces nearer to the City, he fell a roaring a second time, with such an extream violence, that it made the Citizens lose all their teeth, and flung the Emperor himself down from his Throne; so that he was fain to beseech the *Rabbi* to carry this Animal back again to his Forest.

THESE are the great Truths on which all the Doctrine of the *Talmud* is grounded, whereto we might have added several others of the same stamp: But as they serve not for our present Discourse, we shall pass them by; only with this brief remark, that the Modern

Jews

Jews have never been more extravagant and ridiculous, than in their Ceremonies and Opinions about, and concerning their Dead.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Funerals of *Schiſmaticks.*

WE may diſtinguiſh the *Schiſmaticks* into three different Nations, which make the Principal Sects of them, *viz.* the *Grecians*, both natural and others, that follow the Rites of the *Greek* Church; the *Æthiopians*, and the *Moſcovites*, who, as they have all of them particular Cuſtoms about the diſpoſing of their Dead, it will be fitting to ſpeak to them ſeverally.

Several ways of Burying us'd among the Modern *Grecians*, according to the different Quality of Perſons.

TO begin then with the firſt of theſe: The Ceremonies uſed by the Modern *Grecians*, at the Interments of their Monks, Prieſts, thoſe of the Laity, and particularly of Women and Children are diverſe, and much differing one from another. For they ſtrip the Monks of their Frock and Cowl, and let their Bodies lie naked,

naked, cover'd only with an Hair-cloth: To ſhew by their nakedneſs, that they have liv'd in an abſolute and entire abrenunciation and denudation of the things of this World; and by the Hair-cloth, that the whole *Series* of their lives has been nothing elſe but Penance and Auſterity. As for their Prieſts, they apparel them with their own Sacerdotal Garments, and Eccleſiaſtical Ornaments; thereby to repreſent the high Excellency of their Employment, and Dignity of their Character. As for the Lay-people, they are, after their Death, adorned with their richeſt cloaths; and if they be ſuch as have been Magiſtrates, with their Gowns and Robes of State; as thinking they cannot be too neatly and handſomly dreſs'd, being to appear in the preſence of God. Their Women are all cover'd with a long Vail, which reacheth down from their head to their very feet; by this means to intimate the care Women ought to take

take to hide themſelves from the ſight of all Men, except their own Husbands. Laſt of all, they apparel their Children like Angels, becauſe they believe they are going to take their place amongſt the number of thoſe Bleſſed Spirits.

The reaſons of three ſervices they celebrate for the Dead.

THEY uſually celebrate three Services for their departed Friends: The firſt on the third, the ſecond on the ninth, and the laſt on the fortieth day after their Death; for the ſolemnizing of every one of which, they alledge two ſeveral reaſons: As firſt, for that on the third day, becauſe the Body does then begin to change, * and the Face to loſe its features and lineaments; and alſo, becauſe our Bleſſed Lord roſe again on the third day: For that on the ninth, becauſe the whole Body by that time corrupts, putrifies, and becomes noiſome, the Heart only excepted; and likewiſe, becauſe our Lord, eight days after his Reſurrection, began a-new to ſhew himſelf to his Diſciples.

* *Cruſ. in not. ad Turco-grac.*

ciples. And laſtly, for that on the fortieth, becauſe the very heart doth then rot and putrifie, there remaining nothing ſound and entire in the whole Corps, beſides the Bones onely; and moreover, becauſe our Lord aſcended into Heaven the fortieth day after his Reſurrection.

THESE Services conſiſt in Songs or Hymns, Prayers, Ceremonious Breathings or Inſufflations, Liberalities and Alms. Whilſt the Prieſts are ſinging, making every foot the ſign of the Croſs, the Deacon rehearſeth ſome Prayers, and at every turn breaths or blows upon the Offerings, begging of God, that the departed Soul may reſt in peace. Now theſe Offerings, which generally are of all ſorts of Pulſe, and very good Wine, are afterwards brought to the foot of the Altar, and there diſtributed to the ſtanders-by, for a token of the union, which the Deceaſed had with them, when yet alive, and of that alſo, which he ſtill deſires to have with them, by ſharing

ring in their Prayers and Suffrages. Laſtly, they conclude theſe Ceremonies with general Alms and Charities to all there preſent, that ſtand in need of them.

The manner of burying the Dead among the *Ethiopians*.

THE *Ethiopians* are wont to accompany their Dead to the Grave, with divers Prayers, which they rehearſe without ſinging; * and when the Corps is ſet down on the ſide of the Grave, they read over it the Goſpel of S. *John*. The next day they begin to diſtribute many Alms for the Reſt of the Soul; and ſo continue for the ſpace of eight days, during which, they ſplendidly treat and feaſt the Relations and friends of the Deceaſed.

* *Ext. tom. 2. rer. Hiſp.*

Diſcourſe at their Funeral Feaſts.

IN which Feaſts their whole diſcourſe is concerning the Dead; ſpeaking of his good works, if his Life has been exemplary; or of his repentance, if he had been a great ſinner, and was at laſt converted; of God's mercy towards him, if he died in his ſin without any ſignal Converſion; they charitably believing,

ving, that before his laſt gaſp, he might have performed ſome acts of Contrition, and like the good Thief, ſaved himſelf at the end of his life: And beſides theſe Religious acts and diſpoſitions of the deceaſed, they alſo entertain themſelves either with the diſcourſe of his good manners, whereby he rendred himſelf amiable in the ſight of all Men; of his natural endowments and lovely qualities, which made him to be eſteemed and regarded by every one; of the great Eſtate he had got by his induſtry and diligence; of the honourable Offices he had born in the Common-wealth; or laſtly, of his Noble atchievements, and famous Victories in War. From all which put together, they conjecture that he muſt certainly be happy in Heaven: and therefore they heartily rejoyce, that he is paſt from the miſeries of this tranſitory Pilgrimage, to the felicity of Eternal Life. Which Duty they are ſo exact and religious in performing, that if any one

* *Schuncig. in Hodaport. l. 2.*

one ſhould happen to talk of any other matters, he would preſently, as an impertinent, be turned out of the company.

The manner of Burying the Dead among the *Moſcovites.*

AMONGST the *Moſcovites* Funerals are always performed and attended by day-light; it being neither uſual nor lawful with them to carry the Dead to their Graves after Sun-ſet: For which cuſtom, they alledge this reaſon, That it is not becoming at all to carry them in the dark, who are enter'd upon Eternal Light. As often as any one is Dead amongſt them, they contend one with another, who ſhall Bury him; as accounting that Duty, not only for a work of mercy, but meritorious alſo. Therefore he reckons himſelf very happy, who by the Relations of the deceaſed is appointed to diſcharge this laſt Office.

Anonym. l. de Ruſſ. relig.

THEY do not Conſecrate their *Cæmeteries*, or Burying-places, becauſe they ſay, that it belongs to the Bodies anointed and ſanctified by the Holy Ghoſt to conſecrate the Earth,

Earth, and not to the Earth to conſecrate the Bodies. Theſe *Cæmeteries* of theirs are either in Woods, or open Fields; and every Grave has a heap of Stones, with a ſmall Croſs on the top of it. Their Clergy-men, together with the Friends and Relations of the Departed, accompany the Corps towards the place of Burial; whereof ſome are ſinging certain Hymns and Prayers, whilſt others weep, and make great lamentation. They have beſides, this particular cuſtom, that they burn Incenſe all along the way, by which they carry the Dead, ſome of the Prieſts having Cenſers in their hands for that purpoſe; for they believe, that thereby the Devils are put to flight, and frighted from approaching the Dead. They alſo celebrate ſeveral *Maſſes* for the Reſt of the Departed Souls, though they hold no Purgatory; hoping that by means of theſe *Maſſes*, and their Prayers, God will grant to the Deceaſed a better place in Heaven, than

that which his merits could otherwise have procured for him. This being done, all the company sit down to eat Rice-cakes in the Church it self; and after this sober and simple repast, they arise and mutually embrace, and wish one another an Eternal satiety and fulness of Everlasting pleasures in the Bosom of God.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Funerals of *Chriſtians.*

AFTER what has been before ſaid concerning Funeral Ceremonies, as common to all the Nations of the World (even the moſt barbarous) none can doubt, but that they are Sacred in themſelves, ſince they are taught us by Nature, Reaſon, and conſequently by God himſelf, in order to give humane Bodies, the reſpect and honour due to them, as being by means of the Immortality of the Soul, far enobled above thoſe of all other Creatures. True it is, that theſe Ceremonies among ſome people are become ſuperſtitious and cruel too, proportionably as by their own depravation and obſtinacy they have more or leſs ſwerved from the Truth, which inwardly did dictate tothem ſentiments altogether con-

trary to their extravagant actings. But thanks be to God, they have with us remain'd pure and entire, as will plainly appear both from the continual practice of the Church, from the first Centuries until now, & by Arguments no less strong and solid, than holy, and religious, upon which they are grounded; so as to be able to shut the mouths of the most obstinate Libertines and Hereticks; in case they have but the patience to read the unquestionable Instances and Authorities we are to alledge here.

The manner of apparelling and Burying the Dead among the *Roman Catholicks.*

AS soon as any one is Dead amongst us, they close his Eyes and Mouth, kiss and embrace him; afterwards they wash, perfume and apparel him. When he is dress'd, they for some time expose the Body in the Entry of the House, or in some other large Room, till the Priests come to take it away, in order to its Burial; at which time all the Company march in Procession, attended with more or less Pomp and

and Ceremony, according to the quality of the party Deceaſed. At the head of this ſolemn attendance one advanceth with the Croſs, who is followed by the Clergy-men, ſinging all the way: On this occaſion the number of Lights and Wax-Tapers is great, and greater is the croud of People that accompany the Corps; whereof ſome are weeping and lamenting, whilſt others repeat Prayers for the Dead. Laſt of all, when they are arrived at the Church, and a Maſs for the Reſt of his Soul has been celebrated, he is Interr'd there, or elſe in another conſecrated place, call'd the Church-yard.

THESE are all the Ceremonies we uſe in this particular; of which ſome one or other are often omitted, either by reaſon of the poverty of the Party, the negligence of his Relations; or laſtly, becauſe ſome do affect a more ſimple and plain way of Burying their Dead. Nevertheleſs all of them may in an

holy manner be practiſed; and for which we have reaſon to expect a Reward at the laſt day, as being Works of Mercy, which by the Soveraign Judge are ſo highly recommended to us.

NOW we muſt prove, that theſe have always, and are ſtill uſed; and ſhew the reaſon of this Univerſal Practice.

Reaſons why we ſhut the Eyes and Mouth of the Dead.

IN the firſt place then, we cloſe the Eyes and Mouth of our deceaſed Friends and Relations (which S. *Denys* the *Areopagite* tells us in his *Hierarchy*, is a Cuſtom that was obſerved by the Primitive *Chriſtians*) to repreſent, that the Death of the Faithful is, according to the Oracles of Scripture, but a Repoſe; ſince after having been aſleep for a while, they ſhall be awaked to Eternity: Moreover, by ſhutting their Eyes and Mouth, we do intimate, that the Dead are no more to take delight in the objects of this, their employment now being ſtedfaſtly to behold all the raviſhing beauties of the

the other World; and continually to praiſe God, who is the glorious and bountiful Diſpenſer of them.

TO which the foreſaid Father adds in the ſame place (and S. *Auſtin* confirms it in his 118. Epiſtle) that they kiſs'd the Dead, either to congratulate them upon the account of the happineſs they were going to enjoy; or thereby to ſignifie the Eternal union, that God has appointed and ordained to be between them and the Living, who both of them make but one and the ſame Church: Which Communion all the power of the bottomleſs pit can never break or diſſolve, nor ſeparate the holy Travellers, from thoſe who are already enter'd upon the poſſeſſion of Everlaſting Glory: As alſo to ſhew the Natural tenderneſs and love they had for the Deceaſed. But this Cuſtom is now quite aboliſhed with us in many places, and not very ſtrictly obſerved in others, though indeed it be very commendable; and they who practiſe it, do

Reaſons why we kiſſed the Dead.

thereby ſhew their piety; ſince the motives thereof are moſt Holy. *Denys* of *Alexandria*, and *Euſebius* in the Seventh Book of his Hiſtory, mentions the embracing of the Dead, which queſtionleſs was grounded upon the ſame reaſons.

Reaſons why we waſh the Dead.

AS for the uſage of waſhing the Dead, S. *Epiphanius* in his Speech on this Subject, and S. *Chryſoſtom* in his 84. Homily on S. *John* tells us, that it was hallowed in the Perſon of our Lord and Saviour, whoſe precious Body was waſhed as ſoon as they took it down from the Croſs. And we read in the ninth Chapter of the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*, that a Woman of *Joppa*, called *Tabitha*, whom S. *Peter* reſtor'd to life, had been waſh'd before ſhe was laid in the upper room of the houſe. S. *Chryſoſtom* alſo, whom I juſt now quoted, in his firſt *Homily* upon *Job*, deſcribing the Funeral Duty a Son ought to pay to his deceaſed Father, tells us, that he muſt firſt of all waſh his Body, which decent

Cuſtom

Cuſtom is confirm'd by *Tertullian* in his *Apologetick*. *Surius* informs us, that S. *Martian* took a particular care to ſearch for the dead Bodies of the Poor, in order to the giving them Burial, and that he never fail-ed of waſhing them well with fair water. S. *Gregory* the Great, does both in his Ritual, and ſeveral other Works of his, ſpeak of this Cuſtom as univerſally approved of by the whole Church: And though it be not at this day uſed in *France*, yet S. *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us ſufficient inſtances, that it was in his days religiouſly obſerved amongſt us. By which waſhing of the Body they intimated, that as the Dead had by the Sacraments been cleanſed from their filthineſs, ſo they would infallibly be receiv'd into Heaven, where no polluted or unclean thing ſhall ever be able to enter.

Reaſons why the Dead are perfumed.

NEITHER is the Cuſtom of perfuming the Corps leſs holy and reaſonable, ſince beſides that it was (as well as that of waſhing) ſanctified

fied in the Perſon of our Lord, it is authorized by an infinite number of inſtances among the Primitive *Chriſtians*, which without doubt may very well be imitated. We read in S. *Matthew*, S. *Mark*, and S. *John*, that the three *Maries* not contenting themſelves with the precious Drugs and Odours wherewith *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* and *Nicodemus* did perfume and embalm the Sacred Body of our Bleſſed Lord, ſpeedily repaired with ſweet Spices to his Sepulchre, with an intent of paying that Duty to him there. And indeed the reaſon why the Primitive *Chriſtians* were ſo careful to perfume the Dead was, becauſe they regarded them as ſo many Members of the Myſtical Body of the Redeemer of the World. *Tertullian* in his *Apologetick*, upbraiding the *Heathens* with their vaſt expences of ſweet Scents and Perfumes, conſum'd in their Temples, tells them that thoſe Odours would be better employ'd in embalming the Bodies of *Chriſtians*,

ans, than in perfuming their Idols. Upon which account it is, that the *Pagans*, who knew that this pious Cuſtom was religiouſly obſerv'd by the *Chriſtians*, reproach them in *Minutius Felix*, that they neglected the Living, and took care only of the Dead; ſince they reſerv'd all their Perfumes for their Funerals. *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſpeaking in his *Catachetical Inſtructions* againſt Women, who laviſhed too much Mony in perfuming themſelves, ſays, that that expence cannot be well allow'd, but only to the Dead. *Prudentius* and *Orentius* two Chriſtian Poets, who have made ſeveral Elogies in praiſe of thoſe that dy'd with the ſweet Odor of Holineſs, do not omit mentioning among other Honours done to them, that of perfuming their dead Bodies. S. *Gregory Nazianzen* does in his 18. Epiſtle ſay, that this honour was paid to his Brother *Cæſarius*. Several other inſtances of the ſame kind might be produced out of S. *Ambroſe*, *Gregory* the

the Great, *Surius* and *Baronius* his Annals, concerning the Bodies of *Martyrs*: But to ſhun prolixity, we ſhall to the Premiſes only add what *Lactantius* delivers on this ſubject. *The reaſon* (ſaith he) *why we* Chriſtians *do perfume the Dead, is, becauſe this honour did always attend the* Apotheoſis, *or Canonization of any Perſon; as it is obvious to obſerve both from Sacred and Profane Writers; and therefore it is, that we render this kind of Divine honour to thoſe whom we believe (as it were) deified, by their paſſage from this life, to a bliſsful Eternity.*

Reaſons why the Dead are clothed.

AS concerning the manner of apparelling the Dead, all of us are not in the ſame practice: For ſome do only cover them with a large Winding-ſheet, as we do in *France*; and others dreſs them in the very ſame Cloaths they were wont to wear when yet alive, as in *Italy* and other places. Which latter way was formerly eſteemed more honourable, and much uſed in the firſt *Centuries*.

For

For not to speak of the Priests, who are always buried with us in all their Ecclesiastical Ornaments: I find in the *Roman Pontifical*, that Pope *Eutychius* did in his time order all the Bodies of Martyrs to be arrayed in a fair Surplice: With reference to which, Pope *Gregory* in his 44. Epistle finds fault, that some of his Predecessors had that honor done to them, which was only due to Martyrs. *Surius* acquaints us, that an *Egyptian* Lady, *Cleopatra* by Name, clad St. *Maximinus*, a Martyr, in a very rich Apparel, before he was laid in his Coffin. And *Eusebius* in his *History*, tells us as much of *Asterius*, a *Roman Senator*; who being informed that an Illustrious Captain of his time, called *Marinus*, was Martyr'd at *Cæsarea* in *Palæstina*, caused a strict search to be made for his body, and when he had procured it, committed the same to the Earth, adorned with very costly habilements. We read in the Lives of the Fathers of the Desart, and namely,

ly, in that of S. *Pachomus*, that the dead Bodies of all those Hermites were most richly decked. And St. *Gregory Nyssen* tells us, that he himself bestow'd very costly Cloth and Stuff, to array the Corps of his Sister *Macrina*, who died in a Monastery.

TO the foregoing instances of the rich Vestments bestow'd by the Primitive *Christians* upon the Dead, we may add the Description of two magnificent Tombs, found in the Church of St. *Peter*, in the *Vatican*; The first of these was discover'd in the Year one thousand four hundred and forty eight, in the Chappel of St. *Petronilla*, as they were digging a Grave for a Penitentiary then lately deceased. It was all of Marble, and so purely white, and curiously polish-ed, that it pass'd for a wonder; in the in-side of which there were two *Cypress*-Chests or Coffins, over-laid with Plates of Silver, whereon the sign of the Cross was engraved, and within the same were two Bodies apparel'd in

in Vestments of Cloth of Gold, but so rich, that besides four-score pounds weight of Silver, which the Plates weighed, the Gold of their Cloaths, and other Ornaments amounted to sixteen Pound-weight. The other Tomb was, that of the Empress *Mary*, Wife of *Honorius*, which was discovered in the time of Pope *Paul* the Third, and was likewise of Marble; in which, over and above the Gold, which amounted to about forty Pound weight, there were enclosed several curious Vessels of Crystal and Agate, with many other rich Jewels. As for the reasons why we dress the Dead, they are very plain and obvious, for besides that Nature teacheth us to cover the nakedness of humane bodies, we do signifie thereby, that they have by their death put on immortality; and therefore the more rich those accoutrements are, the more proper are they to represent those Heavenly Robes of Glory, prepared for them.

NOR

NOR is it needful to have recourſe to Antiquity for inſtances, that may authorize the expoſing of the Corps to publick view. We herein follow Tradition, which with us is inſtead of a Law; and injoyns us to ſet the Body, either in the Entry, or the principal and moſt publick room of the Houſe; and that for two reaſons. The firſt, that by this ſight, thoſe that paſs by may be taken off from Terreſtrial things, and fix their thoughts on thoſe that are Heavenly, by being thereby put in mind of their latter end. The other, to crave the Prayers and Suffrages for the Deceaſed; that God may be merciful to them, and without ſuffering them to languiſh in the torments of *Purgatory*, receive them the ſooner into the abode of the Bleſſed.

Reaſons of the Pomp and Ceremony wherewith they carry the Dead to the Grave.

IT is the belief of this Bliſs and Felicity, which the Faithful enjoy after their Death, makes us accompany them in a pompous Proceſſion, with Hymns and Lights. *We give*

all

all theſe marks of joy at Burials (ſays S. *Chryſoſtom*, in his Fourth *Homily* on the *Epiſtle* to the *Hebrews*) *becauſe we conſider the Dead, as ſo many ſtout Champions, that have couragiouſly fought, and gloriouſly obtained the Victory.* Wherefore we give thanks to God, for his having ſo powerfully ſupported them in all their needs and troubles; deliver'd them from all the miſeries of this Life, made them triumph over all their Enemies; and laſtly, for having baniſhed all their fears, by crowning them with Eternal Glory and Felicity. And indeed this Proceſſion has ſomething in it of a triumphal March; the Hymns or Songs are ſo many publick ſhoutings and acclamations; and the Lights that ſhine every where, do by their ſplendor much add to the glory of this Pomp. 'What can be more great 'and ſolemn (ſays S. *Jerom*, ſpeaking of the Interment of *Sancta Paula*, and S. *Gregory Nyſſen* of that of his 'Siſter) than to ſee ſuch a vaſt num-

'ber of Perſons, conſecrated to God, 'cloathed in their Sacerdotal Orna-'ments, and who by their gravity 'and the orderly and decent manner 'they proceed in, look like ſo many 'Princes, and are really ſo, of a 'Kingdom far more glorious, than 'any on Earth? What is more 'charming and pleaſing to the Ear, 'than the melody & concert of their 'Songs? whereby they imitate the 'Angels, who at the ſame time do 'with *Hallelujahs* and joyful Accla-'mations, receive the Soul of the De-parted? In ſhort, what is more delightful to behold, than the light of ſo many burning Tapers? This artificial brightneſs giving us a weak *Idea* of that Eternally clear and ſhining day they meet with in Heaven. We might here add many other reaſons, why our Funerals are attended with Lights; as firſt, That it is the emblem of Joy, Honour and Life, which are the three chief advantages of that Eternal Beatitude, wherewith true Chriſtians ſhall be rewarded

warded in the other World. Thither they pass (as the Scripture expresseth it) from the bitter waters of mortification and austerity, to a river of pleasure; and from contempt and humility, to the highest degree of Glory; in a word, from Death to Eternal Life. Secondly, we make use of Lights on this occasion, to put all the powers of Darkness to flight, and to shew that Christians having never had any fellowship with those infernal Spirits, which endeavour to hide all their actions; but on the contrary exercised themselves in such works as deserve for their exemplarineſs to be set before the eyes of the whole World; they are passed from one light to another; that is, from the amiable brightness of Virtue, to the glory of its Reward. In the third place, to intimate, that they have obey'd that Precept of our Lord, which requires his Servants to be always ready, with their Lamps burning, that they may be prepa-

red, and in a posture to open to, and follow him whenever he shall please to call upon them. And last of all, to signifie, that they died in the light of Faith, and that as they have in this life sought nothing but *JESUS CHRIST*, who is the true Light, so shall they possess the same in the other, to all Eternity.

Reasons why the Cross goes before.

AT the head of this Pomp the Cross advanceth, which is the Mark and Character of the Elect, the Instrument of our *Salvation*, and the Key of *Paradise*. The most ancient Writers of our Religion tell us, that it hath always been carried in great Solemnities, and was the chief Ornament in all Pompous Ceremonies. Besides, that *Constantine* the Great caused it to appear at his Triumph, as it did to him in the midst of the Fight; and his Successors in the *Empire* do still in our days place it on the top of their Crowns; *Socrates* and *Sozomene* tell us, that in the very first *Centuries*, it was seen at the head of all the Processi-

ons,

ons, which the *Orthodox* made againſt the *Arrians*; That S. *Chryſoſtom* cauſed ſome Silver-ones to be very curiouſly wrought for that purpoſe; and that the Clergy never went forth in a Body, neither at *Conſtantinople*, nor any other City of the *Eaſt*, without advancing the ſplendid Repreſentations of that Sacred Wood. And to the end, that *Chriſtians* might never diſcontinue this holy Cuſtom, the Emperor *Juſtinian* eſtabliſhed it by a Law; as we may read in his 133. *Novel:* Which *Surius* alſo confirms by a thouſand inſtances of Antiquity. It is not therefore to be wonder'd at, that we carry it in all our Funeral Marches, ſince it has ever been the Cuſtom ſo to do in all Ceremonies and Pompous Solemnities whatſoever. And I find there is more reaſon for it in this, than in any other beſides; nothing leſs than the Kingdom of Heaven (into which this alone can procure us an entrance) being here at ſtake.

Thus we ſee in the Goſpel, that when the Soveraign Judge ſhall come down in the Clouds, to give all men their Doom and Reward, he ſhall cauſe this ſign of our Redemption to go before him, which ſhall be the touch-ſtone of the Good & Bad; for as he will receive all them into the number of his Elect, that have reſpected it; ſo will he caſt down to Hell all thoſe Reprobates, who Devil-like have deſpiſed and contemned the ſame.

Reaſons why they weep there.

IT might ſeem ſtrange to ſome, that after this pompous and triumphal Proceſſion, a quite contrary Quire ſhould follow; there being nothing more unſuitable to thoſe Hymns, and other marks of rejoycings afore-mentioned, than the Tears and Lamentations of the Relations of the Deceaſed, and that ſadneſs which appears in the countenances of all their Friends. But theſe Tears of the Laity have their reaſons, as well as the rejoycings of the Clergy: The one expreſs the

ſenſe

ſenſe of Nature, and the other that of Faith. Both which ſentiments are ſo juſt, that far from being oppoſite and deſtructive of each other, they make up one of the moſt perfect Concerts and *Symphonies* in the World. This S. *Auſtin* elegantly declares, in his *Comment* on the *Epiſtle* of S. *Paul* to the *Theſſalonians*, where that *Apoſtle* adviſeth us not to be ſad and dejected at the Death of our Friends and Relations, as they are who have no hope. *This Oracle* (ſays he) *does not condemn all ſorrow for the Dead, but only ſuch as is immoderate, and like that of the* Heathens, *who expect no Eternal Felicity in the other World. It is impoſſible* (adds the ſame Father) *that we ſhould have no ſenſe of, and feel no grief at all for the Death of Perſons, who are ſo dear to us; for though we are aſſured, that we ſhall one day meet them in Heaven, yet this parting* (*beſides that it is contrary to Nature*) *depriving us of them for a time, cannot but be very grievous. Moreover, we do not only in Death be-*

hold the deſtruction of the Body, but the horrid and frightful image of Sin, which is the cauſe of it; ſo that far from being not to afflict our ſelves in this ſo ſad a juncture, we might (ſays he) *be altogether comfortleſs, if Faith did not awake our Hope, and Hope calm and allay this natural and juſt ſorrow. So that we are grieved, and cannot chuſe but be ſo, becauſe of this ſeparation: But the bitterneſs of this affliction is ſweetned and mitigated, by the ſtedfaſt hope we have one day to ſee them again in Heaven, who for a time are departed from amongſt us. Nature afflicts, and Hope glads us; our own weakneſs caſts us down, and Faith raiſeth us: Our miſerable condition makes us mourn, and the Divine Promiſe rejoyceth and comforts us. I forgive Parents* (ſays S. *Jerome*) *for the Tears they ſhed at their Children's Death. No, I cannot* (purſues he) *blame your mourning, when I conſider you are the Father and Mother of them that are Dead. But withal muſt blame you, if you do not ceaſe your Tears, when*

I have put you in mind that you are Chriſtians. And S. *Chryſoſtom* on the ſame ſubject ſpeaks to this purpoſe; *I do not abſolutely forbid you to weep, but to weep immoderately. I am not cruel, but rather ſympathize with you, as well knowing how much Nature ſuffers on theſe occaſions. This I ſee commonly happens even to the moſt Virtuous Perſons; and not to mention thoſe two great Patriarchs,* Abraham *and* Joſeph, *the one whereof wept over his Wife* Sarah, *and the other over his Father* Jacob; *JESUS CHRIST, who ought to be our Pattern, wept at the Grave of* Lazarus; *which the* Jews *perceiving, did attribute his Tears to the love he had for this holy Perſon. You ſee therefore* (concludes S. *Ambroſe*) *that Tears, when moderate, may be the marks as well of our Piety, as of our Grief; and that being made up of the weakneſs of our Nature, and certainty of our Hope, they may well become* our Chriſtian Funerals.

BESIDES,

Reasons why the Dead are pray'd for.

BESIDES, I find that the Prayers the Friends of the Dead rehearse, are very suitable to this Religious Solemnity. Some Sing, others Weep, and these last Pray. Now this variety which seems so disagreeing and inconsistent, is nevertheless most pleasing to God, and makes a most admirable Harmony, wherein he very much delights; because these differing Voices are not so contrary one to another, but that they are all equally good and holy. The Priests sing for joy, in view of the great happiness and bliss of the Deceased; the Relations weep to see themselves for a time deprived of him, and because they cannot accompany him into Glory: Lastly, his Friends pray, that nothing might stop him in his Journey, and that without calling at *Purgatory*, he might immediately enter upon those Enjoyments and Blessings, which are prepared for him in the Mansions of Eternity.

TO

TO the ſame Motive we muſt alſo attribute thoſe Maſſes which are afterwards celebrated, and Alms that are given. Theſe pious Works, as well as Prayers, are done for the Reſt of the departed Souls. Which Cuſtom has always been obſerved by the Church, as we may collect from all the fore-quoted Fathers, who ſpeaking of the Funerals of the Chriſtians, mention alſo theſe charitable and holy aids. But to avoid prolixity, I here omit to ſet down their words at large.

NOW what remains, is to ſhew, that *Chriſtians* ever had particular Places to Bury their Dead in, and that thoſe Places were conſecrated and hallowed. We read in the Pontifical, that almoſt the ſame Ceremonies are us'd at the Conſecration of *Cæmeteries*, as at that of Churches; both which have the ſame Priviledges, and the one may be polluted as many ways, as the other. St. *Denys* the *Areopagite*, who lived in the time of the Apoſtles, does in the

Burying-places of *Chriſtians.*

the ſeventh Chapter of his *Hierarchy*, call *Cœmeteries*, Honourable and Sacred Places. The ſame Appellation *Tertullian* gives them in the 51. Chapter of his Book of his Soul; as well as *Optatus Milevitanus*, in his ſixth *Book*; Saint *Cyprian* in his 68. *Epiſtle*; St. *Ambroſe* in the Second Book of *Offices*; and Saint *Auſtin* in his 64. *Epiſtle*. Moreover S. *Jerome*, ſpeaking of St. *Ignatius*, makes mention of the *Cœmetery* of the firſt *Chriſtians*, which was at *Antioch* without *Daphnis*-Gate. And Saint *Chryſoſtom* in his Sermon concerning *Faith* and the *Law*, aſſures us, that in his time there was not one *Chriſtian* City, Town or Village in the World, which had not a Church-yard belonging to it. But beſides this great Number of Authorities, which cannot be oppoſed, all of them proving the ſacredneſs of theſe Places, by the holy Name which is beſtow'd upon them, we ſhall be the more perſwaded and convinc'd of this Truth, if we do conſider that

that the *Maſs*, and other Divine and Eccleſiaſtical Services are here celebrated, as well as in Churches. Neither do I ſpeak only of thoſe Places called *Catacumbæ*, where *Martyrs* were interred, but generally of all our Church-yards. Let us hear what St. *Clement* the Pope ſays in his *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*; *Aſſemble your ſelves in the* Cœmeteries, *there read the Sacred Books, and ſing your Spiritual Hymns*; *be preſent at the* Maſs *that is celebrated there, and after you have received the Body of our* Saviour, *continue the Harmony of your Songs.* Next, let us inſpect the Acts of Pope *Liberius*, wherein we ſhall find, that having been driven and caſt out of the Churches, by the command of *Conſtans*, the *Arrian* Emperor; he retired to *Cœmeteries*, there to acquit himſelf in the Duties belonging to his Charge. And S. *Athanaſius* in his *Apology* to the ſame *Conſtans*, ſays, that the People of *Alexandria*, who were *Catholicks*, gather'd

gather'd themſelves together, to pray in the Church-yard, being unwilling to enter the Church, becauſe it was in the poſſeſſion of *George*, the *Arrian* Biſhop. So that it muſt needs be a great matter of joy and comfort to us, to be Buried in ſuch Holy Places. Now all this ſhews, that it hath been the conſtant belief of the Church, that the Bodies of *Chriſtians* were not to be lookt upon, as thoſe of other Men, but as Relicks, which were one day to be tranſported into the Heavenly *Jeruſalem*. Wo to them, who by their impenitence and obſtinacy, ſhall be found unworthy of this unſpeakable Bliſs: For, as their unclean and polluted Carkaſſes have defiled and profaned theſe Sacred Places; ſo ſhall they be Eternally puniſh'd for it in Hell; where, inſtead of a Holy Burial, they ſhall, like the rich Man in the *Goſpel*, for ever have no other Grave, than thoſe devouring, yet never conſuming Flames.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning the Right *of* Burial, *and* Laws *made in that behalf.*

I HAVE reſerv'd the ſpeaking of the *Right* of *Burial* for the latter end of this *Treatiſe*, as being a Matter that regards all Nations; becauſe ſhould I have gone about to ſet down the Ceremonies of every one of them in particular, I ſhould never have finiſhed my Diſcourſe. Now as this Right among *Heathens* was grounded upon the *Will* of the Gods, the *Judgment* of Wiſe men, and the *Laws* that had been made for that purpoſe; ſo I intend to treat of all theſe three, to the end the Reader may have a full and ſatisfactory information concerning this Subject.

Grounds of the Right of Burial among *Heathens.*

IF we herein conſult their moſt ancient Poets, who were accounted as

The firſt Ground of this Right, *viz.* The Will of the Gods.

as ſo many Secretaries of their Gods, and Interpreters of their Wills; they all with one accord will tell us, that Burial is one of the chief and moſt indiſpenſable Duties charged upon Mankind; of which none can deprive another, without a manifeſt breach of the Law of Nature. Nay, they peremptorily aſſert, that Conquerors themſelves may not deny it their vanquiſh'd Enemies. *Euripides* repreſents the Women of *Argos*, crying out againſt *Creon*, King of *Thebes*, as an ungodly and Atheiſtical Prince, becauſe he would not permit them to bury their Sons, who were ſlain in the Battel, they had fought againſt him; not being able to conceive, but that if he had acknowledged the Gods, he would have reſpected their Laws.

AND *Sophocles* ſpeaking of the threats, wherewith the ſame *Creon* menaced *Antigone*, becauſe ſhe had (contrary to his order) buried her Brother *Polynices*, introduceth her, anſwering that Prince with an undaunted

daunted courage and conſtancy, founded upon the Will of the Gods, which ought always to be prefer'd before that of Men. *When I Interr'd* (ſaith ſhe) *the Body of my dear Brother, I did nothing but diſcharge a Duty, to which the Celeſtial and Infernal Powers have indiſpenſably obliged us. It is a Law, which thoſe Immortal Soveraigns have given to Men; and I do not ſee that thou, who (though a King) art mortal, and their Vaſſal as well as we, canſt oppoſe or hinder the performing of this ſacred* Devoir. *It is a Law that has ever been obſerved, and ſo ancient, that its Original is ſince time out of mind. Wherefore I had rather do what it enjoyns me, than obey thy Commands; there being far more reaſon for me to apprehend the diſpleaſure and puniſhment of the Gods, than thy threats.* *Sophocl. in Antigon.*

OF which truth *Iſocrates* being perſwaded, highly commends *Theſeus* and the *Athenians*, for the great care they took to bury the Dead; ſaying, that it was a mark and to- *Iſocr. in Hel. encom.*

ken of their piety towards the Gods; ſince it is they, and not men, who eſtabliſhed that Law.

UPON which account it is, that the *Sibyl* among the other important advices, which ſhe gives *Æneas*, about the deſign he had to take a Journey into Hell, ſtrictly charges him, not to ſet forth, before he had caus'd the body of *Miſenus*, that lay on the Sea-ſhore, to be Buried; telling him, that as on this occaſion he ſtood in need of the ſpecial protection of the Gods, ſo he muſt by this piety endeavour to deſerve the ſame.

Oracles in favour of the Dead.

TO the premiſſes might be added ſeveral Oracles, which clearly ſpeak in favour of Burials. * *Diodorus* informs us, that *Cybele*'s Relations having cauſed *Atys* to be murther'd, upon the account of his too great familiarity with her, and left his Body lying on the ground in the open fields, the whole Country of *Phrygia*, which was the ſcene of that cruel action, was thereupon plagued

* *Diod. l.* 3.

plagued with Sickneſs, and afflicted with Famine: And that the *Phrygians* on this ſad occaſion conſulting the Gods, to find out ſome relief of theſe miſeries, received no other anſwer, but that the Body of *Atys* was to be interr'd.

NEITHER were the *Caphyans* in *Arcadia* * leſs ſeverely puniſhed, for having barbarouſly ſlain ſome Boys, that did them no harm, and given them no other Burial, but that of the ſtones, wherewith they had ſtruck them down; for their Women were immediately ſeized with a diſtemper which made them all miſcarry; inſomuch as they would never have had any Children born to them, had they not obey'd the voice of the Gods, who commanded them out of hand to bury thoſe poor Innocents.

* *Pauſan. in Arcad.*

Pauſanias, who recounts this Hiſtory, tells us another that is no leſs remarkable, *viz.* That after the diſmal Death of *Actæon*, whom his own Hounds devoured, the in-

Idem in Boeo.

habitants of *Orchomenus* were tormented by his Ghoſt, that continually put them into cruel frights; of which they would never have been rid, had they not (according to the advice of the Oracle of *Delphos*) carefully taken up all that remain'd of the Body of this unfortunate Hunter, in order to inter the ſame.

Æneid. 6. AND were not thoſe of *Luca* by a like anſwer, obliged to make a ſtrict ſearch for the Body of *Palinurus*, that they might be deliver'd from the Plague, which had infected the whole Country; and did not ceaſe to rage till they had appeaſed his Ghoſt, by diſcharging that pious Duty towards him? For though they could not find his Body, yet they conſecrated a Grove, in which they erected a ſumptuous Tomb in honour of him.

Cenotaphia, or Empty Sepulchres. THESE Sepulchres, which were called *Cenotaphia*, that is, empty Monuments, were nevertheleſs, according to the fooliſh opinion of the *Pagans*, very uſeful to the Dead;

Dead; for they fanſied, that provided they were not lookt into, the Corps, for which they were intended, though never ſo far diſtant, entered into them: But that if out of curioſity any one open'd theſe Tombs, they preſently vaniſhed away. Hence it was, that they erected Monuments as well for ſuch as periſhed at Sea, were devour'd by Beaſts, or died in foreign parts, from whence they could not procure their Bodies, as for thoſe that were preſent with them.

Poets Fables concerning Burial.

AND indeed how could they have omitted this Duty, ſince the Gods themſelves oft made it their particular care and buſineſs? For if we will believe *Homer*, *Jupiter* gave order to *Apollo* to inter the Body of *Sarpedon*, whom *Patroclus* had kill'd. *Thetis* buried *Ajax* her ſelf, as *Lycophron* reports: And this Goddeſs was alſo by *Jupiter* ſent to *Achilles*, to command him on his behalf to deliver the Body of *Hector*, that he might be interred: He likewiſe at

Hom. Iliad.

Lycophr. in Caſſand.

Hom. Iliad.

the ſame time diſpatching *Iris* to *Priam*, with orders to agree about the ſame with the Enemy for a ſumm of money. Laſt of all he ſent *Mercury*, ſafely to guide this Prince by night, through the Hoſt, to conclude the Treaty. Moreover, *Homer* aſſures us, that the Children of *Niobe*, whom the Gods cauſed to be ſlain, were by them Buried nine days after.

Plin. l. 7. c. 29.

BUT what I find more remarkable, is the care that *Bacchus* took to bury the Body of *Sophocles*. *Pliny* ſays, that this Poet being Dead at *Athens*, at the very time when the General of the *Lacedemonians*, *Lyſander* by name, beſieged that City; this God ſeveral times appeared to him in a dream, commanding him to raiſe the ſiege, to the end the *Athenians* might be at liberty to pay their laſt Duty to this great Man, whom he had always regarded as his Darling.

Gods among the *Heathens*, that took the care of Funerals.

TO this we may add, That there were three of their Principal Gods,

Gods, who took the care of *Funerals*. *Pluto Jupiter*'s Brother was worſhipped only as Soveraign over the Dead; upon which account it was, that his Temples were only open'd at night. He was call'd *Summanus*, that is, the Supream God of *Manes*, or Departed Souls. *Summanus Diod l. 2.*

NOR was *Venus* leſs concern'd to ſee Men buried, than ſhe was for their being begotten; and for this reaſon they kept in the Temples that were conſecrated to her (under the name of *Libitina*, that is to ſay, the Goddeſs of the Shades) all ſuch things as were requiſite and neceſſary at Funerals, as Winding-ſheets, Biers, and Inſtruments both to dig Graves, and erect Monuments withal; for all manner of Tools were not indifferently to be made uſe of on this occaſion; ſince the employing other than thoſe that were conſecrated to that ſervice would have been lookt upon as a kind of profanation. *Senec l. 6. de Benef. Val. Max. l. 5.*

Horat. l. 1. Od.

AND last of all, *Mercury*'s charge was to receive those *shades*, whose Bodies were but newly interred, and lead them into the *Elysian* Fields, or elsewhere, according as they had deserved; he driving before him, with his Golden Rod, this Troop of Ghosts, like a Flock of Sheep. And for a further proof, that it was the will of the Gods, that this pious Duty should be performed to the Dead; I might here observe, that they themselves commonly punished those that denied this Right, or did any the least injury to them: And on the other hand, they most bountifully rewarded such as signalized themselves by this piety.

Id. ibid.

WE read in *Horace*, of the Astrologer *Archytas*, who was cast away at Sea, that his dead Body being by the Waves driven to the shore, his Ghost threaten'd all that past by, who did not throw a handful of Earth upon him, with the like misfortune, after their Death, besides

beſides ſeveral other miſeries during their life-time.

WE alſo read in a *Greek* Writer of Epigrams, that ſome Perſons having found a dead Man's Skull, moſt of them fell a weeping; and that there was only one of the Company, who laugh'd and flouted, and through an unheard-of Cruelty, flung ſtones at it: which ſtones by a ſtrange wonder rebounding back to his Face, wounded him very much. *Anthelog. l. 1. c. 22.*

BUT on the contrary, the Poet *Simonides* having met in his way on the Sea-ſhore, a dead Body, as he was about to go on Ship-board, in order to an intended Voyage, deſir'd the Maſter of the Ship to ſtay till the next day, that he might have time to bury the ſame, which proved a great good fortune to him: for that night the Ghoſt of the Dead, having warn'd him in a Dream, not to proceed on his Voyage, he accordingly did not embark in that Veſſel, which miſcarried *Cic. l. 1. de divin.*

ried at Sea, together with all that were on Board her.

Val. Max. l. 1. AND was not that poor Fisher very lucky, and his Piety well rewarded, who leaving his Nets, to go and bury a Corps, as he was digging a Grave for it, found a Treasure that made him rich for ever after?

Antholog. l. 1. NOW whether these things fell out by chance, or otherwise, however it is enough for us to observe, that the Ancients were perswaded, instances of this nature were the effect of the grateful acknowledgment of the Dead, and that the Duty of Burial was founded upon the Will of the Gods, and consequently considered by them as indispensable and inviolable, it being a principal point of their Religion. And indeed the very same Priests, who taught them the Service of the Gods, taught them also all their Funeral Ceremonies.

Explanation. I KNOW some have been of opinion, that Priests were forbidden to

to meddle with the Dead, and that the ſight only of a Corps deprived them of their Office, and ranked them with the Laity. This is the Sentiment of *Aulus Gellius*, and *Fabius Pictor*; who ground their Opinion upon this, That *Auguſtus* being High-Prieſt, at the time when he pronounced the Funeral Oration in praiſe of *Agrippa*, cauſed a Curtain to be drawn between him and the Corps, that he might not ſee it. But beſides that this appears to have been done only with regard to the tender love he bare to his Friend and Favourite, leſt the ſight of that mournful object giving occaſion to his ſighs and tears, might have interrupted his Speech; *Dion* who mentions this very paſſage in his Hiſtory, and was well acquainted with all the *Roman* Ceremonies, having himſelf been *Senator*, and twice *Conſul*, does expreſly ſay, that this was not becauſe of his Prieſthood (for it is not true that it was unlawful for Prieſts to look upon dead

Aul. Gel. l. 10.

Tacit. annal. l. 3.

dead Bodies) and that he never could gueſs at the reaſon why that Emperor order'd a Vail to be drawn before him, whilſt he was delivering his Oration.

BUT do not the ſame *Aulus Gellius* and *Fabius Pictor* contradict themſelves, who in another place own that *Auguſtus*, for all he was High-Prieſt, went to meet and accompany the Body of *Druſus*, Father of *Germanicus*, and that he did not leave it, till he had paid him at *Rome* all the Funeral Honors, he thought due to him?

Id. l. 2. Appian. Dion. l. 36. MORE ſuch like inſtances we have in *Tacitus*, concerning *Tiberius*, who though he was but newly elected High-Prieſt, at the time when he entered upon the Government, did nevertheleſs attend the Funeral of his Predeceſſor, and of ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, whom he had a reſpect for.

Appian. l. 1 *APPIAN*, who deſcribes the Funeral Pomp of *Sylla*, tells us, that all the *Prieſts* and *Veſtals* accompanied

nied it. And *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Numa*, assures us, that after his Death, the Priests followed his Body to the Grave.

BUT I should be too prolix, should I mention all the particulars Antiquity furnishes us withal on this account; which are so many convincing Arguments, that the Burying of the Dead has ever been reckon'd one of the chief of Religious Duties. Wherefore I shall conclude this Head, and come now to speak of the *Judgment* of Wise men, who have fully and clearly explained themselves concerning the indispensableness of the Right of Burial, by which all are obliged to give the Dead their due. The second ground of this Right.

PLATO in that excellent *Idea*, which he has fram'd of his Commonwealth, does not forget amongst the several kinds of Justice he there speaks of, to mention that which we owe to the Dead. *Plat. in Phæd. & Cratil. & Dial. 5. de repub.*

HIS Disciple *Aristotle* teaches, in his Book of *Virtue*, that one part of *Arist. l. de Virt.*

of Diſtributive Juſtice does belong to the Dead; and in his Problems, he aſſerts, that it is more juſt to pay them their due, than to the Living.

Id Probl. Sect. 29.

PINDAR, who was a great Philoſopher, as well as Poet, ſays, that the things of this World are not ſo entirely aſſigned to the Living, but that the Dead may claim their lawful ſhare in them; and that beſides a ſpecial place which they ought to have to be Buried in, we are bound to beſtow a part of the means and Eſtate they leave behind them, to celebrate their Funeral with honour and decency.

Pind. in Olymp. Od. 3.

CICERO, in the diviſion which he makes of the parts of Juſtice, marks one to reſpect the Gods, the other the Dead, and the laſt the Living.

Cic. in Topic.

SERVIUS does obſerve, that *Virgil*, who ſo often calls *Æneas* by the name of *Pious*, in the Poem he has writ to immortalize the memory of that *Heroe*, does chiefly give him this Character, becauſe of the Funeral

Æn. 6.

Funeral Honours, which he with ſo much care and application, always paid to his Relations and Friends; wherein he ſpared nothing, nor himſelf neither, doing many actions that would have been unworthy of him, had they been done upon any other account.

BUT on this occaſion all is honourable, even for Perſons of great Quality, to carry the Dead on their ſhoulders, becauſe the motive of Piety and Humanity that engages them to do it, highly raiſes that action, which is but low and mean of it ſelf. *When I Inter a Dead Body* (ſays *Seneca*) *though I never ſaw or knew the Party when he was alive, I deſerve nothing for my ſo doing, ſince I do but diſcharge an Obligation which I owe to Humane Nature.* *Senec. 5. de Benef.*

WHICH Duty even to unknown perſons is ſo juſt, that the *Latin* hath given it no other appellation than that of Juſtice, and the *Greek* of a Lawful Cuſtom, Piety and Godlineſs. So that amongſt the *Romans*

Romans and *Grecians*, which have been the two moſt potent and civilized Nations in the World, when they would expreſs, that one had been interred, they ſaid that they had done him Right or Juſtice.

Eſſential Ceremony.

THIS Duty conſiſted in caſting three ſeveral times a handful of earth upon the Corps; which was to be done by one of the Prieſts, when any could be had; or for want thereof, by any other Perſon whatſoever. This is that which the Ancients called the Sacredneſs of Burying, without which no Soul (as they believed) could enjoy any reſt for a long ſeaſon. It availed nothing to the Dead, that he was buried in a deep Grave, or laid in a Tomb, if the Funeral Ceremony were not begun with theſe three handfuls of earth, for lack of which a poor Soul, though it had liv'd never ſo well, was fain to wander up and down, for the ſpace of an hundred Years, before it could be admitted into the *Elyſian* Fields. And

Hom. Il.

Delr. in Scne. Herc. Æte. & Cerd. in Æn. 6.

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on the contrary when theſe three handfuls of earth were flung upon the body, though it was never after interr'd, they thought the Soul did nevertheleſs enjoy its reſt. But as it would have been a piece of cruelty thus to leave the Corps expoſed to the open view of all, ſo the one was ſeldom performed without the other: for the pooreſt and moſt inconſiderable fellow in the World (as a Slave or a private Souldier) could not be denied the uſual Garments, Coffin, and other Neceſſaries for his Funerals.

Priviledge of Slaves after their Death.

IF any Maſter was ſo inhumane, as not to diſcharge this pious Duty towards his Servant, the firſt Man, who took upon him the care of performing it, had an Action againſt, and was ſure to caſt him, the Law ordering a reimburſement of all the Plaintiff's expences on that account, no debt having more priviledge than this, as being prefer'd even before

Legacies, and the ſtricteſt Covenants, yea before a Wife's Portion, which was eſteemed the moſt Sacred Engagement that belong'd to any Society, and for which the Law had very carefully provided. And this is the more obſervable, becauſe a Slave who enjoy'd no priviledge, and was by his unfortunate condition, not much more regarded than a Brute; being liable to all manner of abuſes without redreſs, ſubject to all ſorts of affronts, injuries and violence, and very often to loſs of life it ſelf, the Law taking not the leaſt notice of it, for his relief; had nevertheleſs, after his Death, a Right to demand of his Maſter (by any that would do it for him) his Funeral charges, and, in caſe of refuſal, to diſtrain for them. True it is, that theſe charges were very inconſiderable, and the place where this ſort of People were buried, moſt abject: But how ſmall ſoever the one, and abject the other might be; yet was it

Nepoti. Horat. l. ep.

it a Right, that could not be diſpenſed with.

AS for Souldiers, they in this caſe provided for themſelves, after another manner, not being willing, in a matter of ſo great importance, to truſt their Captains with the care of it. Each Legion had a Purſe for their common Burials, into which every one that was liſted, was obliged to put ſome thing of his Pay: and with this ſtock the Charges of their Interments were defray'd. The care Souldiers took of their own Burial.

VEGETIUS, who tells us of that Pious Cuſtom amongſt a ſort of Men, that are thought to have neither Faith nor Law, adds another inſtance of that natural love of Burial, which is no leſs admirable than the foregoing. He ſays, that after the bloody Defeat of *Cannæ*, moſt of the *Roman* Souldiers deſpairing of being interr'd, becauſe their Enemy was Conqueror and Remarkable inſtances. *Nulla fides pietaſque virís qui caſtra ſequuntur.* Lucan. *l.* *ult.* *Liv. l.* 22.

Maſter of the Field, were found to have (as well as they could) digg'd holes for themſelves, and laid down their Heads foremoſt in them, that they might not be wholly depriv'd of Burial.

FOR this Reaſon it was, that they feared not Death in Land-fights; as hoping that the very ſame place wherein they fought, would afford them a Grave for their Eternal reſt. But they were mightily troubled and diſmay'd at the thoughts of a Naval Combat, or when they were in danger of ſhip-wrack; becauſe they ſaw themſelves upon the point of being for ever deprived of it.

Hom. Il. UPON which account alſo *Achilles*, who braved all manner of Dangers, could not (as *Homer* ſays) keep himſelf from being daunted at that of ſhipwrack, when he found himſelf ready to miſcarry in the River *Xanthus*.

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A LIKE fear of *Scipio*, the greateſt Captain the *Romans* ever had, *Silius* mentions, who tells us, that he that had ſo many times, without the leaſt concern, or motion, ſeen Rivers of Bloud running down, was moſt terribly affrighted at the paſſage of the River *Trebia*, where he ſaw himſelf in danger of being drowned. *Sil. l. 4.*

THE ſame account *Statius* gives us of *Hippomedon*; who (as he ſays) could without any trouble, have preſented his Body to the dint of a thouſand Swords, and yet was not able to abide the thoughts of being caſt away in the River *Theumeſia*. *Stat. l. 9.*

IN a word, this was the Death which *Ovid* could not by any means be reconciled with, and that upon this only ſcore, that it deprives a Man of Burial. *Ovid. 1. Triſt. 2. Syneſ. ep. 4.*

THEREFORE they who were in danger of miſcarrying at Sea, commonly tied a Piece of Gold or Silver about their Necks, that therewith (if peradventure the Waves ſhould drive their Bodies to the ſhore) they might pay for their Funeral Charges; though they knew that this caution and care was not neceſſary, ſince by the Laws the Inhabitants of the Place, where they ſhould be caſt up, were oblig'd to bury them. Which Laws we will now endeavour to deſcribe, and ſet down in ſome order, to the end we may there-from derive a greater authority to this Right of Burial, whereof we are treating.

The Third Ground of this Duty.

ALL the World knows, in how great eſteem the Laws of the Twelve Tables have ever been amongſt the *Romans*; their equity being ſo univerſally acknowledged, that the ſole mention of them was enough

enough to incline the moſt obſtinate and wilful minds imaginable, to reaſon.

THESE were the Laws which *Cicero* (that famous Orator, and Oracle of the *Roman* Senate) prefer'd before all the Writings of Philoſophers, and declar'd them to be more worth than whole Libraries, whether one conſidered their weight and Authority, or the great advantages they procur'd to the Publick. Now theſe ſo good, wholſome and juſt Conſtitutions do ſpeak of nothing more, than of the Duty the Living are bound to pay to the Dead: and that with good reaſon; for they being depriv'd of Life, and conſequently unable to defend themſelves, or complain of thoſe that abuſe them, it is but juſt that the Laws ſhould by all manner of ways favour and protect them. And therefore they firſt of all define, that an Heir, who ſhall not have well *Cic. l. 2. de Leg. & l. 1. de Orat.*

acquitted himſelf in all the Funeral Honors, he ought to pay to his Benefactor after his Death, or omitted any eſſential thing relating thereto, be put by, and deprived of the Inheritance or Legacy which was left him. Secondly, that in caſe he has expreſs'd the leaſt contempt in performing of the ſame, he ſhall be lyable to capital Puniſhment. And in the third and laſt place, that if he has been obſerv'd ſomewhat careleſs and negligent in diſcharging the ſaid Duty, he ſhall not enjoy the means bequeathed to him, except he do every Year Sacrifice a Sow before he gather-in his Harveſt, to the end he may pacifie and appeaſe the Ghoſt of the Departed.

Plut. l. 11. de Leg. *SOLON* who was the firſt of *Greece*, that eſtabliſh'd Laws, and had ſo well regulated the Republick of *Athens*, that *Cicero* was of opinion, all other States were to conform themſelves to it, if they would be well

well governed; becauſe he had omitted nothing therein, which was requiſite to good Order, Virtue, Peace and Juſtice; did amongſt thoſe Laws he had made to this purpoſe, not forget to inſiſt upon each particular, and leaſt Ceremony to be obſerv'd at Funerals; which he afterwards put into the hands of the Prieſts, that they might be the Depoſitors and Judges of them for time to come.

LYCURGUS, who is alſo accounted one of the moſt ancient Law-givers, and who by his Juſtice made himſelf no leſs conſider'd at *Lacedæmon*, than the former at *Athens*, did not only confirm in favour of the Dead, all the Honors that were by *Solon* appointed and ordained ſhould be performed to them; but ſuper-added this, that thence-forward they ſhould have their Sepulchres within the Walls of the City; to the end, that being

Plut. in vit. Lycurg. & tract. de juſt. La.

ing thus expoſed to the ſight of all People, they might be the more reſpected, and imitated by them in the whole conduct of their Lives.

Ulp. l. ult. de mort. inſer.

THAT Learned Lawyer *Ulpian* and *Labeo*, who was before him, do both of them aſſure us, that the Laws of all Nations do above all things recommend Funeral Duties; being very ſevere to thoſe that neglect the performance of the ſame.

Tit. 17. & 57.

BY the *Salick* Laws it was Enacted, that he who had been ſo inhumane and barbarous, as to take a dead Body out of its Grave, to the intent of depriving it of Burial, ſhould be baniſhed as a Monſter from the Society of all Men; and that none ſhould give him any retreat, no not his own Wife; and this upon moſt ſevere Penalties.

IN

IN the *Digeſt*, as well as in the *Codex* of *Theodoſius* and *Juſtinian*, we hear of nothing but ſhame, Fines, Baniſhments, Amputations of Hands, Capital Puniſhments, and other ſuch like, decreed againſt them, who had done any injury to the Dead, according to the quality of their Crime. We have alſo a *Novel* of *Valentinian*, wholly in favour of Sepulchres. And that Apoſtate Prince *Julian*, who might ſeem to have renounced all manner of Religion, by abandoning the *Chriſtian*, did nevertheleſs openly take the part of the Dead, and order'd thoſe to be moſt ſeverely puniſhed, who had diſturbed, or offer'd any injury to them. *L. 5. c. Th. & Juſt. de ſep. viol.*

IN a word, ſo great reſpect has ever been given to Sepulchres, that the moſt *Chriſtian* Princes have extended it even to thoſe of the *Heathens*, and ſtrictly forbid- *C. de Sep. Viol.*

den

den the violating of them. For beſides the Emperor *Conſtans*, who of all Monarchs, was the greateſt abhorrer of *Paganiſm*, we might quote here the Canons of the fourth Council of *Toledo*, together with thoſe of that of *Meaux*, or *Paris*; all which declare the violating of Graves to be a Capital Crime, according to both Divine and humane Laws.

Concil. Toled. 4. Canon. 45.

Canon. 72.

IN ancient time it was not lawful to make water, or ſo much as ſpit, in Places ſet apart for Burying the Dead, for which purpoſe they were us'd to have there the repreſentations of Griffins, Lions or Dogs, (they being the moſt watchful of all Creatures) as ſo many Spies to have an eye that no undecent action might be done there.

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AND me-thinks the Poet *Prudentius* treats them very favourably, when laughing at the plurality and vanity of their Gods, he ſays, that there were as many Temples at *Rome*, as Sepulchres built in honour of their *Heroes*. For it is certain that this Superſtition was univerſal amongſt them; they being of opinion, that Death indifferently conſecrated all manner of Perſons, and was thought ſufficient to entitle them to Divine Worſhip: And therefore on this occaſion the higheſt Perſonages forgot their State and Grandeur, and humbled themſelves to the meaneſt Service at the Funeral of thoſe whom they had in their life time look'd upon with contempt; inſomuch as even Princes honoured their Subjects, as ſoon as they were by Death hallowed and deified:

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TRAJAN himſelf, who hath always paſt for one of the greateſt and wiſeſt Emperours that *Rome* ever had, was not altogether free from this error. For we read in the Hiſtorian *Dion*, that he built Altars to the Souldiers who had ſerved him in that perillous and deſperate War, which he wag'd againſt *Decebalus* King of the *Dacians*, and were kill'd in the Field. *Dio. l. 68.*

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Apud Serv. in Æn. 3.

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AND the *Platonists* make no other difference between these so common Divinities, than that the one do still continue to be wicked after their death, as they were in their life-time: and that the others on the contrary are always good; asserting that those who have led an ungodly life are no sooner dead, but they are turn'd to *Hob-goblins*, *Spectres* and *Ghosts*, that haunt Houses and Church-Yards, as they who have liv'd well do become Tutelar and Family-Gods.

IN short, this Opinion was of old so universally receiv'd, that there was not a Family but had their own Gods; for every one honoured in particular all those of his own Blood, that were dead.

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LACTANTIUS, who lived in those days, informs us, that they made Images of them, which they carefully kept in their Houses; and the better to render them venerable, they clothed them in the same Habits wherewith the other Gods, whom they adored in their Temples, were adorned; dressing all the Statues of their deceased Women, in the Habiliments of Goddesses, and those of Men, after the manner of the Gods. *Lact. l. 1. c. 15.*

BUT lest we should think that *Lactantius*, being a *Christian*, does herein impose upon us, to make us the more decry and abhor their Religion; we may with little pains find the like instances in their own Authors. The Poet *Statius*, in the description he makes of the Funeral Honours, which *Abscancius* paid to his Wife *Priscilla*, *Stat. l. 5. Silv.*

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AND indeed from what they tell us themselves, I find that they expressed no less reverence to them whom they had seen die, than to those they believed Immortals, and were worshipped publickly. For besides Sacrifices, they instituted Games and Solemn Festivals in honor of them; yea (which is more, and the greatest mark of Worship that can be expressed) they swore by their Ashes

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Id. Ep. 8.

Propert. l. 2 *Eleg.* 15.

Claud. l. 1.

Senec. Controv. 1.

FINIS.

Marcus Minucius Felix

HIS

OCTAVIUS;

OR, A

Vindication

OF

CHRISTIANITY

AGAINST

Paganism.

Translated by *P. LORRAIN* Gent.

LONDON,

Printed by *J. M.* for *R. Royston*, Bookseller to His most Sacred Majesty, 1682.

TO THE

REVERENDS

JOHN TILLOTSON D.D.

DEAN *of* CANTERBURY, *and*
Chaplain *in* Ordinary *to*
His MAJESTY.

REVEREND SIR,

WHEREAS *other* Dedications *are grounded merely upon* Reſpect *and* Honour, *or upon the proſpect of ſome* Advantage *to the* Book,

or Author; this *is more immediately an Effect of* Juſtice: *ſince it is by Your Encouragement that this* Tranſlation *appears in Publick, You having been pleaſed to peruſe and approve it. Yet this, SIR, is not all I have to alledge for this* Dedication: *For whether I conſider* You *as a Zealous* Defender *of our* Chriſtian Religion *againſt* Atheiſm; *or of our* Reformed Religion *againſt the* Romiſh Superſtion, *which is the old* Paganiſm *reviv'd and vari-*

niſh'd

niſh'd over; I cannot make a fitter Choice of a Patron, *either for MINUCIUS FELIX, or my ſelf, who am,*

REVEREND SIR,

Your moſt oblig'd, and
Moſt devoted Servant,

London, July 10. 1682.

PAUL LORRAIN.

THE PREFACE.

THOUGH a *Preface* to ſo ſmall a *Treatiſe* as this is, may by ſome be judged needleſs and ſuperfluous, yet having reaſon to believe, that the READER will not be unwilling to underſtand ſomething concerning the *Book* it ſelf, its *Author*, and the *End* of publiſhing it in *Engliſh*, I ſhall endeavour, as briefly as may be, to give *him* all the ſatisfaction I can.

AS for the *Treatiſe* it ſelf (which contains a *Conference* or *Diſpute* between a *Heathen* and a

Christian, in defence of their respective *Religions*) it has been always accounted one of the most Eloquent and Curious *Pieces*, that *Antiquity* has transmitted to us; and in which so many Excellencies shine forth, as it is hard to determine whether it be more eloquent or pithy; more florid or sound and convincing. The *Relations* are succinct and clear; the *Arguments* strong and perswasive; the *Allegations* pertinent and delightful, and the *Whole* deck'd with so comely a grace, and such lively figures of *Rhetorick*, as makes it truly admirable. The *Heathen* enters the Lists first, and alledges all that can be thought of, in favour of *Pagan Idolatry*, and all that the *Hell-born* Malice of those

thoſe times, had invented againſt the *Chriſtians*, preſſing it home with all the advantages that *Art* and *Learning* can afford. The *Chriſtian* on the other ſide, with a great deal of ſoundneſs and addreſs, overthrows all his *Reaſonings* in defence of *Heathen Superſtition*; beats him with his own Weapon; demonſtrates to the eye the palpable falſeneſs of thoſe *Scandals* rais'd againſt the *Chriſtians*, and aſſerts their *Religion* with ſo much vigor and truth, and repreſents it ſo lively (as it was all beautiful in its primitive *Purity* and *Simplicity*) that it can't but greatly affect and delight the Devout READER, who muſt needs rejoyce to ſee the Natural amiableneſs and Charms of that

Reli-

Religion, which (alas!) the Superſtitious inventions and the unſuitable lives of its *Profeſſors* have ſo miſerably diſguis'd. Beſides all this, the *Diſcourſe* contains ſuch an immenſe variety of *Inſtances* and *Hiſtories* of great Antiquity, ſuited to the *Diſpute* in hand, as makes the reading of it very pleaſant and agreeable; inſomuch, that I dare ſay, that never more *Matter* was crouded into ſo ſmall a *Volume*. But I ſhould be too tedious, ſhould I endeavour but to touch the Heads of thoſe peculiar *Excellencies* it is adorned with; wherefore I ſhall break off here, and add a few words concerning the *Author* MINUCIUS FELIX, whom we find to have been a *Roman Knight*, and by Profeſſion

ſeſſion a *Lawyer* or *Advocate*, who were commonly call'd *Orators*: And as to the Reputation he was in, St *JEROME*'s Teſtimony may ſuffice for all, who calls *him* a *Great Roman Orator*. And indeed he who peruſes the *Book* in *Latin*, ſhall find that he was no leſs. As touching the *Parties* introduc'd to maintain the *Diſpute*, we have no further account to give of them, what they were, beſides what's here expreſs'd; though ſome ſuppoſe, that the *CÆCILIUS* here mentioned, was that Great *CÆCILIUS*, who was afterwards ſo Famous amongſt the *Chriſtians*, and in remembrance of whom St *CYPRIAN* took the Name of *CÆCILIANUS*.

THE

The Preface.

THE *End* of my *Tranſlating* this *Great Orator*, was chiefly that this rare and uſeful *Piece* might no longer walk up and down as a Stranger amongſt us, but become of our familiar acquaintance, by appearing in an *Engliſh* Garb; though I can't but confeſs, that the hopes I conceiv'd that my Name might exempt it ſelf from common Oblivion, by being ſeen in the *Title-Page* with the Famous *MINUCIUS FELIX*, was no ſmall inducement to me, to undertake this Labour. But beſides all this, I thought this *Treatiſe* would be of ſpecial uſe in this *Atheiſtical* and *Apoſtatizing* Age, to repreſent to our unthinking *Godleſs* Crew, the unreaſonableneſs of what they would

would ſo fain make themſelves and others believe, *viz.* That this *Univerſe* is an Effect of *Chance*, and not of *Wiſdom*; and that the Glorious *Fabrick* of *Heaven* and *Earth*, had no *Architect*, but was at all adventures jumbled together into this Excellent *Order*, by a fortuitous Concourſe of *Atoms*: An *Opinion* ſo groſly contradictory to *Senſe* and *Reaſon*, that it cannot be admitted by any, but thoſe who have ſhaken hands with their own Nature, and by their Vices and Debaucheries have degraded themſelves beneath the Beaſts that periſh; for they know and acknowledge their *Maſters* and *Benefactors*: But theſe more Brutiſh than the *Beaſts*, know neither their own,

nor

nor the World's Great *Lord* and *Maker*. Neither will it (as I hope) prove leſs ſeaſonable in this dark night of *Apoſtaſie*, to hold forth to our *nominal Chriſtians*, but *practical Heathens*, the genuine Luſtre and Brightneſs of that *Holy Profeſſion*, which once ſhone ſo gloriouſly in the *Countenances* and *Lives* of its *Primitive Embracers*, that it made all the World to be in love with, or to admire it; if by this means they might be brought to bethink themſelves, and at length to return into the Way of *Truth* and *Holineſs*, from whence they are gone aſtray.

AS to this *Tranſlation*, the READER may be pleas'd to take notice, that I have all along made great

great uſe of the *French* of *Monſieur D' ABLANCOURT*, ſo worthily eſteem'd by Ingenious Men; yet not without having an eye to, and continual comparing of it with the *Original Latin*; though I never thought it fitting to tye my ſelf too ſuperſtitiouſly to the Authors *Words*, but deem'd it ſufficient to expreſs his *Senſe*; which I have been very careful not to vary from in the leaſt. For I conceiv'd it my duty where I could not attain his *Graces* and *Ornaments*, at leaſt to ſpeak his *Mind*; and to give the *Subſtance* of his Arguments, where my poor ability could not reach to clothe them in ſo rich a *Dreſs*. For all whc h I challenge nothing but the READER's Acceptance, and

and where it needs, his Pardon; which might perhaps be an Encouragement to me, to attempt ſomething further in the like kind hereafter.

FAREWEL.

Marcus

Marcus Minucius Felix

HIS

OCTAVIUS;

OR, A

Vindication of CHRISTIANITY againſt PAGANISM.

WHEN I think of my dear *Octavius*, and reflect on thoſe delightful minutes we have ſpent together, I feel ſuch a pleaſure, as if I were ſtill enjoying thoſe happy days; ſo deep an impreſſion has his *Idea* left in my Mind, ſince my Eyes have loſt the ſight of him. And indeed 'tis not without cauſe, that I am ſo ſenſibly affected with the loſs of ſo Excellent and Holy a Perſon, as he was;

ſeeing he always expreſs'd ſo great a love for me, that in our paſtimes, as well as moſt weighty Affairs, we ever will'd and diſlik'd the ſame things, as if one heart had been divided between us. And as he had formerly been the intimate Friend of my youthful Loves, and Companion with me in my Errors, ſo when thoſe clouds were diſpell'd, and I came out of the darkneſs of Ignorance into the light of Truth, he did not diſdain to accept of my company, though indeed (which was the more glorious for him) he far outwent me. I ſay, as I was lately reflecting on all theſe things, I fixed my thoughts on that ſerious and important Diſcourſe which he entertain'd, in my preſence, with *Cæcilius*, whom by means thereof he brought from his vain Superſtitions to the knowledge of the true Religion of *JESUS CHRIST*.

OCTAVIUS was come to *Rome*, partly upon account of buſineſs, chiefly, perhaps, to ſee me, for whoſe ſake he made no difficulty of leaving his Family and Children in that tender

age

age when they are the moſt lovely; I mean, by reaſon of their Innocence; when they begin to ſpeak half words, and when their broken and faltring ſpeech makes whatever they ſay extremely delightful. It is not to be expreſs'd with what a joy I was tranſported at this unexpected felicity, of meeting ſo good a Friend, whom of a long time I had not ſeen.

WHEN the firſt motions of this joyful ſurpriſal were a little over, after our being ſome days together, and telling one another our adventures, we determin'd to go to *Oſtia*; the Baths there, near the Sea, being very good for me, to dry up my humors, and the Vacation of the Vintage affording me leiſure for that retirement. It was at the time when the greateſt heats of the Summer begin to abate, and the ripening Fruits give notice that the Harveſt is at hand. Being arriv'd in this fair City, we went early in the morning to take a walk upon the Sea-ſhore, to enjoy the freſh air, which quickens the ſpirits, and imparts livelineſs to

the whole body, and where the Sands, in which the footſteps make ſo ſlight an impreſſion, do not tire the Walker, but ſuffer him without wearineſs to receive the benefit of a pleaſant and healthful Recreation. As we were thus walking on, *Cæcilius* who was in company with us, ſeeing an Image of *Serapis*, as we paſs'd by, did according to the Superſtition of the Vulgar, kiſs his hand to it, in token of worſhip and reverence. Whereupon *Octavius* turning to me, ſaid; Brother *Marcus*, you do not like a good man to ſuffer one, whom you daily converſe with, to remain in ſuch groſs blindneſs, as to ſtumble at ſtones in broad day-light, which though they be ſhap'd into ſome figure, and are perfum'd and crown'd, yet ſtill are nothing but ſtones. Indeed it concerns you, as well as him, not to let him go on in this Error.

WITH this kind of diſcourſe we paſs'd through the middle of the City, and drew towards the Sea-ſide, near a wide and open place, where we ſaw the waves gently beating the ſhore, and

and ſmoothly ſpreading the ſand, as if they had been fitting it on purpoſe for a walk. And as the Sea is never quite calm, even when the winds are ſtill, ſo though the waves were neither high nor foaming, yet in great curles they came rowling towards the ſhore. Thus we delightfully wander'd by the Sea-ſide, and beheld the waves coming and breaking themſelves at our feet, and then returning to be ſwallow'd up again in that vaſt Element, and keeping along the edge of the gently bending ſhore, with pleaſant ſtories we deceived the tediouſneſs of our journey: For *Octavius* entertained us with a Diſcourſe of Navigation, in ſo pleaſant a manner, that we could not grow weary either of walking, or hearing him. And that we might not go too far, we return'd back the ſame way we came; and being arriv'd at a place where Veſſels are dry-dock'd, we ſaw ſome little Boys vying with one another at an exerciſe of making ſhells to graze, as it were, upon the water. The Sport is this: They gather ſmall

ſhells on the ſhore, picking up ſuch as are the moſt ſmooth and round; then ſtooping to the ground, with all their ſtrength deliver them, ſo as they may but juſt raze the ſurface of the water; and he that makes them glide furtheſt, and gives the moſt bounds, does win the Game. Whilſt *Octavius* and my ſelf were looking on theſe Children, *Cæcilius* taking no diverſion in their ſport, nor any notice of the activity of theſe Youths, kept aloof thoughtful and melancholick, ſhewing by his clouded countenance that he had ſomething in his mind that troubled him, inſomuch that it prompted me to accoſt him with this diſcourſe. How now? What is become of that gay and charming temper, which you are wont to have even amidſt your moſt ſerious Affairs? Whereupon he reply'd, I will not conceal from you, that *Octavius* has affronted and vex'd me to the heart; for it ſeems that he does blame you, only to offend me, and accuſe you of negligence, only to expoſe me as an ignorant and blockiſh Fellow. I am reſolv'd

ſolv'd to ſeek my amends for this injury, and to have this matter diſcuſs'd between us in good earneſt. It's like he'l ſee then, that it is a more eaſy thing to talk of theſe matters with thoſe of his own Party, than fairly and orderly to debate them with Learned Men. Let us go and ſit down upon yonder ſtones that jet out into the Sea, and ſecure the Baths from the raging waves, where we may reſt our ſelves, and argue the Caſe more at leiſure. We went therefore and ſate down, they placing me between them both, not out of complement or reſpect to my Quality, (for Friendſhip either finds or makes all equal) but as a Judge and Moderator of their diſpute, that I might the better hear the reaſons of both Parties, and keep the two Diſputants aſunder. Then *Cæcilius* began thus: Brother *Marcus*, though you be already reſolved about the Things which are now controverted between us, ſince upon careful examination and tryal of both, you have left the *Service* of our *Gods*, and embraced *Chriſtianity*; yet

at preſent your mind ſhould be ſo diſpoſed, that you may hold the ſcales even, like an equal Judge inclining to neither Party; that ſo your Sentence may rather appear to be the effect of the force of our Arguments, than of your own preconceiv'd Opinion. Therefore if you'l ſit down as a Stranger, who has no acquaintance or intereſt on either ſide, it will be no hard task to demonſtrate to you, that all the things of this World are uncertain and doubtful, and that the knowledge we have of 'em, is rather Opinion than Certainty; ſo that I cannot but wonder when I ſee ſome Men ſo lazy, as rather inconſiderately to yield to the firſt Opinion that preſents it ſelf, than to be at the pains to ſearch things to the bottom. It is indeed a thing to be lamented (and which puts one into a paſſion to think on't) to ſee ſome ignorant men, who have no manner of Learning, and do ſcarce throughly underſtand any of the ordinary Mechanick Arts, boldly to decide the higheſt and moſt important Matters in the World,

World, which have exercis'd the Wits of the *Philoſophers* of all Ages, and who after all, have never been able to come to a final determination of them. For Man's underſtanding is ſo little capable of ſuch tranſcendent knowledge, that we cannot apprehend even things that lye at our feet. And it ſeems to me a kind of impiety, to be ſo curious, as to ſound the ſecrets of *Providence*, and in our inquiries to reach after the heights of Heaven above, or to rifle the bowels of the Earth beneath. Happy therefore, and wiſe enough ſhould we be, if according to the ancient Oracle of Wiſdom, we could but know our ſelves, and keep our mind from this vexatious and unprofitable labour, and confine it within the bounds of Reaſon and its own mediocrity. And if notwithſtanding our creeping on the ground, as we do, we cannot hinder our ſelves from attempting to mount up to the Heavens, and to ſoar above the Stars; let us not at leaſt add this ſecond Error to the former, and fill the World with vain Opi-

nions

nions and Fancies, on purpoſe to affright men. For whether the Principles of Things be certain Seeds, which by a Natural propenſity have joyn'd and united themſelves together; or that the Members of all this ſpacious Univerſe, have meerly by Chance been fram'd and ſettled in the orderly manner in which they now are; What reaſon is there why men ſhould fancy a *God* Creator of the World? What, if we ſuppoſe the Fire to have kindled the Stars; and the matter whereof the Heavens are made, to have ſpread and ſuſtain'd it ſelf; that the Earth was poiſed by its own weight, and the Sea made out of the moiſture which was drain'd from that heavy lump; What ground is there in all this for this Religion? for theſe Fears? What means all this Superſtition? Pray what is Man, and all other Creatures in the World, but a mixture of Elements, which in a ſhort time diſſolve themſelves, and return into their firſt Being, without the help of an overſeer, workman, or diſpoſer of all theſe Changes? Thus by a conti-

continual confluence of the fiery parts of matter, of which the Celeſtial Lights are made, we daily behold new Suns to ſhine: And by a like cauſe the Vapours and Exhalations of the Earth produce Clouds, which afterwards being condenſed, and by degrees carried upwards, do at laſt diſſolve themſelves into Rain, or elſe cauſe bluſtring Winds, ratling Hail, roaring Thunder, and dazling Lightning. Which is the reaſon alſo why theſe Meteors do caſually and indifferently diſcharge themſelves, ſometimes on the top of a Hill, ſometimes on a Tree, ſometimes upon Temples and Conſecrated places, ſometimes upon Palaces, ſometimes on ſuch as fear *God*, and ſometimes upon thoſe that contemn him. Shall I ſpeak of the variety and uncertainty of Storms and tempeſtuous weather, wherein it is eaſy to be obſerv'd, that without any choice or exception, all things here below are turn'd topſy-turvy? Don't we ſee both good and bad involv'd in the ſelf ſame ſhipwrack, without any diſtinction of Vice and Virtue;

Virtue; the guilty and innocent conſum'd in one fire; and almoſt all confuſedly periſh in time of Plague, and in War the beſt many times are the firſt cut off? Nay, in time of Peace, Wickedneſs is not only upon equal terms with Virtue, but prefer'd and ador'd: So that when a man conſidereth the proſperity of the Wicked, he is at a loſs what to think of them, and does not know whether he has more reaſon to deteſt their Crimes, or deſire their happineſs. Now if the World were govern'd by a Divine *Providence*, and the authority of a wiſe and powerful Being, ſurely *Phalaris* and *Dionyſius* the *Tyrant* had never mounted a Throne; nor *Rutilius* and *Camillus* ever been baniſh'd, nor *Socrates* forc'd to take down the deadly draught. We ſee here Trees loaden with Fruits, Fields well ſtor'd with Corn, and Hills with Grapes, ready for Vintage, which promiſe a plentiful Harveſt; and all on a ſuddain, this may be utterly ſpoil'd with rain, or deſtroy'd by a tempeſt. Surely it muſt be own'd, that either

either Truth lyes deep buried, and the ſecret ſprings and wheels of *Providence* are altogether unknown, or (which is the moſt probable) that *Chance* only governs the World without any Law or Order. And therefore ſince either the viciſſitudes and motions of *Nature* are uncertain, or we our ſelves certainly under the Dominion of *Fortune*, how much more reaſonable and juſt is it to retain the Doctrine of our Anceſtors, and adore the *Gods* which our Fathers have worſhipp'd, and in whoſe Service we have been brought up from our infancy, than to go about to judge of Things ſo far above our reach as the Deity is? And is it not better and ſafer to believe our firſt Fore-fathers. who living in an Age of great ſimplicity, and in the very infancy of the World, deſerv'd to have their Gods either eaſie and propitious, or exerciſing a gentle government like that of Kings? For indeed we ſee all the Towns, Provinces and Kingdoms of the World have ſome Religion or other, and peculiar Ceremonies,

monies, each worſhipping their own *Country-Gods*; as the *Eleuſinians* do *Ceres*; the *Phrygians*, *Cybele*; the *Epidaurians*, *Æſculapius*; the *Chaldeans*, *Bell*; the *Aſſyrians* and *Sydonians*, *Aſtarte*; the *Scythians*, *Diana*; the *Gauls*, *Mercurius*; and the *Romans*, *all* of *them* together; which is the reaſon why their Power is ſo greatly encreas'd, and themſelves become Maſters of the whole World, having carried their Dominion almoſt beyond the courſe of the *Sun*, and the bounds of the *Ocean:* For by the Religion and Valour of their Arms; by guarding their City with the Service of the *Gods*, Nunneries of *Veſtals*, and other Chaſt *Votaries*, with a vaſt number of *Prieſts* and *Ceremonies*; by appeaſing their angry *Gods*, when other Nations would have Blaſphemed them, and even at that time when *Rome* was ſackt, and had nothing left her but the *Capitol*; by adventuring (in celebratiug their *Myſteries*) to paſs unarm'd through the Camp of their Enemies, whom they aſtoniſhed and daunted with the bold daringneſs

daringneſs of their Zeal; by continuing ſtill to worſhip their vanquiſhed *Gods*, even at the very inſtant when their Enemies having taken their City, made 'em feel the inſolence which their Victory prompted them to; by ſearching for *Deities* throughout the World, to adore them and give them Temples at *Rome*; nay, beſides all this, by erecting Altars to unknown *Deities*, and the Souls of departed *Heroes*; And in a word, by worſhipping the *Gods* of all Nations, they are deſervedly become the Maſters of, and have given Laws to all Nations. Which Devotion of theirs hath ever been kept up amongſt 'em, and encreaſed more and more in proceſs of time: For age confers I don't know what of Sacredneſs upon Temples and Holy Things; inſomuch as the more ancient and unknown their Original is, the more are they reverenced. It is not therefore without reaſon, I confeſs (though I may be miſtaken) that our Fore-fathers did ſo much betake themſelves to *Divination*, by obſerving the flying and chattering

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of Birds, and by conſulting the entrails of Beaſts; and did inſtitute the Service of their *Gods*, and dedicate Temples to them. Do but look into the Hiſtories and Records of paſt times, and you will find that all theſe Myſterious Ceremonies were ordain'd either to return thanks to the *Divine* Bounty, or to divert the ſtroak of his Wrath, or to appeaſe the fury of it. Witneſs the *Mother* of the *Gods*, who at her coming into the City, made known the Chaſtity of a Lady, and deliver'd *Rome* from the fears of her Enemies. Witneſs the Statues of thoſe two Brothers on Horſe-back, which were erected in the ſame place where they ſhew'd themſelves, when returning from the defeat of *Perſes*, with their Horſes out of breath and all in a ſoame, brought the news of the Victory, the very ſame day they had got it. Witneſs thoſe Games which were ſet up anew, upon a Dream which an ordinary man had, that *Jupiter* was offended. Witneſs the *Decii*, who won the Battle by ſacrificing their lives for the Service

ſervice of their Country. In fine, witneſs *Curtius*, that noble Youth, who leapt on Horſe-back into that yawning Deep, which open'd it ſelf in the midſt of *Rome*; and by devoting himſelf to appeaſe the Anger of the Gods, cloſed up that dreadful Abyſs. And indeed the contempt of *Divine* Bodings hath occaſion'd the preſence of the *Gods* more often than we could have wiſh'd for; which the River *Allia* (that unfortunate Name) ſufficiently teacheth us, as well as the Battle of *Claudius* and *Junius* againſt the *Carthaginians*, which was not ſo much a Fight, as a miſerable Shipwrack. The Lake *Thraſimenus* hath ſeen its waters ſtain'd and ſwoln with *Roman* Blood, becauſe a Conſul made light of the Verdict of the *Augurs*; as likewiſe at another time for ſome juſt imprecations which we ſlighted, we were made a Prey to the *Parthians*. But paſſing by things more remote, concerning the Birth of the *Gods*, and the Gifts and Preſents made to them; and omitting alſo the relations of the *Poets*, and thoſe *Ora-*

cles that have foretold things to come, leſt *Antiquity* ſhould ſeem too fabulous, do but caſt your Eyes upon theſe Temples, which at once are the City's Ornament and Defence, and you ſhall find them more Auguſt and Glorious, by reaſon of the *Divinities* which inhabit them, and are there ador'd, than by all the pomp of their Embelliſhments, or riches of their Gifts and Offerings. From thence it is that the *Prieſts* are inſpir'd with the knowledge of future Events, and teach us how to prevent dangers to come. Here they are inſtructed to heal the ſick, to give hope to the afflicted, ſuccour to the needy, comfort to the unhappy, and eaſe to all our pains. And whilſt we are taking our reſt, we oft ſee, hear, and acknowledge thoſe very *Gods*, whom in the day-time we impiouſly deny, diſown and forſwear. Since therefore it is agreed by all Nations, that there are *Gods*, though their Nature and Original be unknown, why ſhould we ſuffer thoſe bold and impudent men, who being puffed up with

I don't know what impious wiſdom, endeavour to weaken and deſtroy a belief which is no leſs uſeful and comfortable, than it is ancient and venerable? And though *Theodorus* the *Cyrenian*, or he that was before him (*viz. Diagoras Melius*) to whom *Antiquity* gave the Sirname of *Atheiſt*, have ſtrove to overthrow this Opinion, that they might extinguiſh all manner of Religion and Reverence of the *Gods*, and diſſolve the ſtrongeſt bond of Humane Society; yet ſhall their counterfeit Wiſdom, never paſs for Philoſophy in the eſteem and approbation of Wiſe and thinking Men. If the *Athenians* baniſh'd from their Country one *Protagoras*, becauſe he rais'd diſputes about the *Gods* (though he did it rather in a Philoſophical and inquiſitive, than profane way) and caus'd his Writings to be publickly burnt; ſhall we ſuffer men (pray give me leave in the heat of diſcourſe to ſpeak out my mind freely) I ſay, ſhall we ſuffer men of an unlawful, infamous and deſperate Faction, without fear of puniſh-

ment to attempt againſt the *Gods*; and gathering together a company of ſilly and ignorant people, eſpecially Women, who by reaſon of the weakneſs and credulity of their Sex, are eaſily deceiv'd and impos'd upon; train them up to a wicked Confederacy, or rather Conſpiracy; into which they are not initiated by any holy Rites, but by impious Crimes practis'd in their Night-Conventicles, Solemn Faſts, and horrid and inhumane Feaſts? Theſe are the people that ſculk in the dark, and flee the light, who are mute in publick, and full of chat in their private Aſſemblies. They with horror and diſdain look upon our Temples as polluted Graves; They ſpit at our *Gods*, deride our Ceremonies, and pity others, whilſt themſelves are moſt of all to be pitied. They ſlight the Dignities of Prieſthood, and contemn the Sacred Purple, whilſt themſelves have ſcarce cloaths to cover their own nakedneſs; and out of a ſtrange madneſs and unheard-of boldneſs, they make nothing of preſent torments,

whilſt

whilſt they are ſtrangely fearful of uncertain future miſeries; Nay, the very fear of dying after Death makes them fearleſs of Death, ſo powerful an aſcendant groundleſs fears, and the falſe hopes wherewith they flatter and comfort themſelves, have got over their Spirits. And in the mean time, as Weeds ſpring faſteſt, and ill habits daily encreaſe more and more; ſo this pernicious and accurſed Sect every day waxing ſtronger and ſpreading it ſelf throughout the World, it is but reaſon that a timely care be taken for its total extirpation and ſuppreſſion. By ſecret ſigns and tokens they know one another, and their mutual love almoſt anticipates their knowledge. They make their Luſt a part of their Religion; and ſo much doth the fooliſh and mad Superſtition of theſe People glory in their crimes, that they promiſcuouſly call one another Brothers and Siſters, and by this ſeeming holy Compellation make filthy Inceſt of that which otherwiſe were but ſimple Fornication: Which Wickedneſs of theirs is ſo much

nois'd abroad in the World, that the truth thereof cannot well be queſtion'd; no more than that other report which goes of them, *viz.* That by a mad Superſtition they worſhip the Head of that vile Animal [an *Aſs*]: Which indeed is a ſort of Worſhip very ſuitable to their Lives and Manners. They are alſo ſaid to pay a great veneration to the Privy parts of their *Prieſts*, as if they meant to adore the *Genitals* of their Ghoſtly Fathers. Now whether theſe Reports be true or falſe, I will not take upon me abſolutely to determine. But their Nocturnal Ceremonies and conceal'd Devotions ſeem to be ſufficient Arguments to perſwade the truth of them; and they who tell us that they worſhip a Man who was crucified for his Villanies, and that the Wood of a Croſs conſtitutes a great part of their Devotion, do worthily attribute to them Altars ſuitable to their Crimes, by making them to adore what they deſerve. Moreover the Ceremony they obſerve upon admitting any to their Religion is no leſs horrible

horrible than notorious. A Child cover'd all over with Paſte (to conceal the Murther he is deſigned for) is ſet before the new *Proſelyte*, who, by their command, ſtrikes his knife many times into it, until the blood run down apace from all parts, which by them is as greedily ſuckt up; and this common Crime is made the Pledge and Surety for their Silence and Secrecy. Theſe are their Sacrifices, which are worſe than all Sacriledges. As to their Feaſts, they are but too well known; concerning which our *Cirthenſian* Orator tells us in his Speech, that on a certain day (ſolemnly appointed for that purpoſe) they aſſemble themſelves all together, both Men, Women, Children, Brothers, Siſters, and in a word, people of all Ages, Conditions and Sexes; and after they have eaten and drunk to exceſs, and that the heat of the Wine and Meats begins to kindle their blood and provoke their luſt, they caſt a morſel to a Dog, who is ty'd to a Candleſtick, ſo far out of his reach, that in ſtriving to leap at it, he overthrows the Candle-

ſtick, and puts out the Light. So that having thus rid themſelves of the only Witneſs of their infamous actions, and taking boldneſs from ſhameleſs Darkneſs, they confuſedly mix themſelves together, as it happens; and therefore though it may chance ſo, that they are not all Inceſtuous in deed, yet they are all of 'em ſo in will and deſign; ſince the Sin acted by any one of them is not only conſented to, but wiſh'd by the whole Company. Several other things of this nature there are, which I purpoſely omit, I having already produc'd but too many inſtances of their Errors. And indeed were there nothing elſe againſt them but that of their endeavouring to conceal ſo much their Myſteries in obſcurity, it would be an evident proof of the truth of all we ſay, or at leaſt of the greateſt part thereof. For why do they ſo induſtriouſly ſtrive to hide that which they worſhip? Men are not afraid to publiſh their honeſt actions; but ſuch as are unjuſt they ſeek to cover with ſilence and privacy. Why have they

they neither Altars nor Temples, nor any Images, at leaſt which are known? Why don't they ſpeak but in private holes and corners, whither they repair by ſtealth, if this their conceal'd Religion be not infamous and criminal? But pray, from whence, who, and where is this one only ſolitary and forſaken *God* of theirs, whom not one free Nation, no Kingdoms do worſhip, no not the *Romans* themſelves who have worſhipp'd all the *Gods* of the whole Univerſe? Among all the people in the World there is but that one miſerable Nation of the *Jews*, who have ſerved one *God* alone; and yet they did it too in a publick manner, with Temples, Altars, Rites and Sacrifices; and notwithſtanding the power of this *God* is ſo inconſiderable, that both himſelf and his People are now Captives to the *Romans*. But what ſtrange and wonderful things don't they invent? They aſſert, That to this *God*, whom they neither ſee, nor can demonſtrate, men's Lives and Actions are particularly known; That he hears their words, ſearcheth

their moſt ſecret thoughts, and is preſent every where; thereby making him troubleſome, reſtleſs and curious, even to impudence; for he hath a hand in, or at leaſt a knowledge of every thing; He is preſent every where, and leaves nothing unpried into. But how can this be? How can he poſſibly have an eye to every thing in particular, who has buſineſs in all places at once? Or how can he be ſufficient for all, whilſt he applies himſelf to every particular? Nor do they content themſelves with all this; but they threaten all the World, and the Stars themſelves with an univerſal Conflagration; as if any thing could alter that Eternal Order, which Nature her ſelf has eſtabliſh'd; the Elements break their Alliance, or the *Divine* Harmony of the *Spheres* be diſſolv'd, for to deſtroy this wonderful *Fabrick*, which contains and ſurrounds us. To theſe they add ſeveral other Old Wives Fables: They tell us, That after Death their aſhes and duſt ſhall riſe again; and (by I don't know what ſtrange kind of perſwaſi-

on)

on) they ſtedfaſtly believe thoſe Errors they have invented, and fancy themſelves already riſen and born again: Which is a double madneſs and folly, to believe that the Heavens and Stars which we leave as we found them, ſhall periſh; and that Men, whom we ſee hourly dye and have an End, as they have had a Beginning, ſhall for ever abide. And as if Dead Bodies being kept from the flames, ſhould not by length and proceſs of time be turn'd into duſt and aſhes, they will not burn their Dead, and blame us becauſe we burn ours. Do you think that it matters any thing, whether they be conſum'd in the Earth or in the Sea, or devour'd by Fire or wild Beaſts? For if Dead Bodies have any ſenſe, any manner of Burial muſt needs be a torment to them; but if they have none, that way whereby they are ſooneſt conſum'd, is the beſt. Nevertheleſs being prepoſſeſt with this ridiculous opinion, they promiſe themſelves (as the Godly Party) an everlaſting happineſs after this Life; and threaten

threaten others (as being the Rebel Rout) with torments that ſhall have no end. I have many things to ſay here, to prove them worſe than others; but I will not take pains to make it out, ſince I think it ſufficiently done already. But were it granted that they are as righteous as others, is it not as a certain truth believ'd by moſt, That *Deſtiny* is the cauſe both of the good and evil, that we ſee in the World? Which is your judgment alſo. For as ſome impute all humane Actions to *Fate* and *Fortune*, ſo do you to *God*. Which is in effect to ſay, that you have not voluntarily embraced this Sect, but *God* has Elected you thereunto; So that thereby you make your *God* an unjuſt Judge, who does not puniſh the ſinful, but the unfortunate. Pray tell me, ſhall you riſe again without, or with a Body? and ſhall that Body be the ſame you have now, or another? If you ſay without a Body: For my part I don't believe there is either Life, Soul, or Senſe without a Body. And how with a Body?

It

It cannot be your own; for that is already waſted. Shall it be another? Then it will be a new body, and not the old one repair'd. Beſides, ſo many Ages are paſt and gone; and yet who has ever been ſeen to riſe and come to Life again, though but for a ſmall time (as the *Poets* feign *Proteſilaus* did) that we might have ſome ground to believe this *Paradox?* Indeed theſe Stories are but *Chimæras* of a crack'd brain, and the vain comforts which *Poets* have invented and pleaſantly expreſs'd for their own and others diverſion. And theſe old Fables new vamp'd, your credulity entertains and applies them to your *God.* Why don't you ſuffer the experience of things preſent to teach you, at leaſt, how vain theſe your promiſes and hopes of the future are? Poor wretches! You might learn what will be your Fate after Death, by the miſeries of Life which you now endure. The moſt and the beſt of you (as you ſay your ſelves) are ready to ſtarve, being in want of all things neceſſary for this mortal Life, and under great

great troubles and miſeries; which *God* ſuffers and takes no notice of; An evident proof, that he either will not, or can't afford you any relief; and by conſequence is either impotent or unjuſt. Thou who flattereſt thy ſelf with an immortality after this Life, art thou not ſenſible of thy condition? Canſt thou deny thy weakneſs, when thou trembleſt at dangers, when thou burneſt in a Feaver, when thou art rack'd with pain? Miſerable deluſion! Not to own one's miſery, even when one feels it! But to leave theſe common Matters; behold there are executions, puniſhments and torments that await you, and croſſes, not to be ador'd by you, but endur'd; with fires and flames, which you own your ſelves afraid of, whilſt you foretel and threaten them to others. Where is that *God* that can raiſe the Dead, but not relieve the Living? Are not the *Romans*, without the aſſiſtance of your *God*, become the Maſters of the World, and of your ſelves too, whilſt you in the mean time refrain from lawful

pleaſures,

pleaſures, and entertain your ſullen humour with troubleſome fears and anxious thoughts? You are never ſeen at any publick Spectacles and Triumphs; nor do you ever frequent our ſolemn Feaſts and Combats in honour of our *Gods*. You abhor the Meats which *Prieſts* have touch'd, and are afraid to taſte the Wine that hath been preſented on our Altars; So that it ſeems you ſtand in ſome awe of thoſe very *Gods*, whom you deny. You wear no Garlands on your Heads, and reſerve your Ointments and Perfumes for the Dead; Nor do you ſo much as adorn the Graves of your deceaſed Friends with Chaplets. You look pale and trembling, and are indeed real Objects of pity; but it muſt be of the pity of our *Gods*, for yours take no notice of you. Miſerable Wretches! who deprive your ſelves of the enjoyments of this Life, and deceive your ſelves in the expectation of another. Therefore if you have any wiſdom or modeſty left, give over gazing upon the Stars, and ſearching into the *Deſtiny* of

of the World; And think it enough to look to your own feet; eſpecially for ſuch rude and unlearned People as you are, who hardly underſtand matters of a Civil concernment, much leſs are able to diſcourſe of *Divine* and *Heavenly* things. But if you have ſuch an itch of *Philoſophizing*, follow the Example of *Socrates* (you who think ſo highly of your ſelves) that was the Prince of Wiſdom: All know the anſwer he was wont to make to thoſe that ask'd him any Queſtions about Matters of *DIVINITY*. *What's above us* (ſaid he) *does not concern us*. For which he merited the Praiſe of extraordinary Wiſdom, from the mouth of the *Oracle* it ſelf; and he himſelf was ſenſible, that it was not for his knowing all things, that *Apollo* had pronounced him the Wiſeſt of all *Greece*; but becauſe he had learn't this one thing, *That he knew nothing*. This therefore is the greateſt Wiſdom of all, for a Man to confeſs his own ignorance. Upon this bottom were founded the Opinions of *Arceſilas*, *Carneades* and ſeveral

ſeveral other *Philoſphers* of the *Ancient Academy*, who thought it ſafeſt not to determine any thing in Matters of any difficulty. And indeed this modeſt and doubtful way of *Philoſophizing* is the beſt, ſeeing it is wariness in the Ignorant, and wiſdom in the Learned. It was this, which gain'd ſo much admiration and eſteem to *Simonides*, whoſe admirable ſlowneſs and caution deſerves to be propos'd as an Example to be imitated by all Poſterity. For being ask'd of *Hiero* what his belief and opinion was concerning the *Gods*, he at firſt demanded a day to conſider of it: The next day after being queſtioned about the ſame thing, he deſir'd two days more; the third time he crav'd as many more; and ſo from that time forth he ſtill doubled the number: At which the King ſtanding amaz'd (not being able to gueſs the reaſon of ſo many delays) and preſſing him to anſwer the Queſtion without any further put-offs; *The more* (ſaid he) *O King, that I ſtudy and meditate of the Thing you enquir'd of me, the more*

obſcure it grows. Thus (methinks) we ought to leave ſuch things as are intricate and uncertain, undetermin'd, and not boldly give our Verdict in a Matter, wherein the Wiſeſt Men are at a great loſs, and uſe to ſuſpend their Judgments; nor be too forward to reſolve and decide Controverſies, whilſt the ableſt and moſt Learned are yet in doubtful deliberation about them; ſeeing this is the ready way either to deſtroy all manner of Religion, or to introduce the moſt fulſome Superſtition and intolerable Slavery.

WHEN *Cæcilius* had thus made an end, Well (ſaid he, with a ſmiling countenance; for the earneſtneſs of his Diſcourſe had appeas'd his Anger) what to all this ſays our *Octavius* of the Race *Plautus* ſpeaks of, *the chief of Bakers, and the meaneſt of Philoſophers?* Soft (ſaid I to him) you had better ſpare your braggs, and not begin your triumph till you have got the Victory; nor pleaſe your ſelf too much with the fine Speech you have made. Remember that Truth, and not Vain-glory,

is the Thing we contend for. And indeed it is not your Diſcourſe that gives me the greateſt trouble (though I muſt confeſs that I was extreamly taken with it, becauſe it was both very witty and graced with admirable variety) but I am ſorry to ſee, that the probability of Things does change face, according to the abilities and eloquence of thoſe that diſcourſe them, and that the moſt evident truth often is obſcur'd by the weakneſs of thoſe who manage it. Men are apt to be carry'd away with an Eloquent Speech, and to aſſent to every thing that is plauſibly ſaid, and to be diverted from the conſideration of what's treated of, without diſcerning Truth from Falſhood, or conſidering that as a Paradox may ſometimes be true, ſo a likely thing often is falſe: And therefore the eaſier they are to believe the aſſertions of others, the oft'ner are they reprov'd and convinc'd by thoſe who look nearer into the Matter: So that being nettled at laſt to ſee themſelves deceiv'd at every turn, they caſt the

blame of their own raſhneſs upon the doubtfulneſs and uncertainty of all things, and had rather condemn every thing and believe nothing at all, than concern themſelves in Matters that are ſo doubtful, and lyable to miſtake. 'Tis therefore our intereſt to have a care, leſt this ſhould make us have an averſion for all manner of Diſcourſe and Conferences, or (which is worſe) make us diſtaſt and hate the company of Men. For thoſe who eaſily believe any thing, finding themſelves frequently deceiv'd, by perſons whom they before eſteem'd honeſt and good Men, fall into another extreme, which is, That they ſuſpect all the World, and miſtruſt even thoſe in whom they have reaſon to repoſe the greateſt confidence. Wherefore ſince it is ſo natural for every one to employ all their might in the vindication of their own Opinions, and ſince alſo in ſuch Diſputes as theſe, the one has commonly more Truth on his ſide, though obſcure and unperceiv'd, and the other more Wit and Eloquence, even ſo far as ſometimes

times to perſwade things that are not; it is our Duty to ponder and conſider of the Whole, with all the ſtrictneſs and exactneſs imaginable, that we may pick out, approve and receive what's good in it, contenting our ſelves to commend what is wittily ſaid, without believing it.

YOU tranſgreſs the bounds, and keep not the meaſures of an equal Judg (reply'd *Cæcilius*) by interrupting our Diſpute with a Diſcourſe that endeavours to weaken the ſtrength, and take away the credit of what I have ſaid; eſpecially ſeeing *Octavius* has all the Particulars of my Reaſoning whole and entire before him, and may anſwer and refute them, if he can: And for all your reflecting on my Diſcourſe, if I be not miſtaken, I have done nothing but what's for the intereſt of us both; having endeavour'd only to exhibite a *Compendium* of the Matters in Queſtion between us, to the end that what I have deliver'd, might be examin'd, rather by the force and ſoundneſs of Reaſon, than by any high and pompous

Eloquence. And we ought not any more take off our attention from conſidering the Things themſelves (as you well obſerve) ſince our *Januarius* is now preparing and raiſing himſelf to take his turn, if we can but have the patience to hear him with ſilence.

I SHALL ſpeak (ſaid *Octavius*) as much to the purpoſe as I can. But we muſt firſt endeavour to wipe off all injuries, calumnies and reflections, and to diſpel thoſe clouds with the light of Truth. To begin therefore, I muſt firſt of all tell you plainly, That you have expreſs'd ſo great an uncertainty about the things you ſpoke of, that I doubted whether you fail'd in point of Learning or Knowledge, or were blinded by Error. For ſometimes you ſaid that you believ'd there were *Gods*; and ſometimes again, that you did not know, what to believe of 'em; as if you had a deſign by your ambiguous Expreſſions to avoid the dint of my Anſwer. But I can't think this of *Cæcilius*; Theſe crafty tricks are beneath the greatneſs of his Wit, and the ſimplicity

plicity of his temper. But he does like thoſe, who knowing not the way, ſtop when it divides into many, and are at a loſs which to take, becauſe they cannot believe them all right, and dare not chuſe any one: In like manner he who hath no firm judgment of Truth, is doubtful and divided in his Opinion about it, according as the reaſons on either ſide do incline and ſway him by turns. Therefore it is no wonder if *Cæcilius* alſo be toſs'd to and fro by contrary Opinions. Which that he may no longer be, I will convince him of the Variety of his Errors, by repreſenting Truth to him which is but one, and ſo ſettle and eſtabliſh him for ever. And becauſe he takes it ſo heinouſly, that unlearned and poor ignorant people (as he calls us) ſhould maintain any Diſpute about *Divine* Matters; he muſt underſtand, that all Men are born reaſonable Creatures, without any diſtinction of Age, Quality or Sex, and owe not their Wiſdom to *Fortune*, but to *Nature*. Beſides, that *Philoſophers* and other re-

nowned Inventors of Arts and Sciences, were accounted but mean people, illiterate and poor, till their wiſdom made them Famous; So true it is, that the Rich who idolize their Treaſures, make more account of their Gold, than of Heaven; whereas ſuch poor Fellows as we, have always been the Searchers-out of Wiſdom and Teachers of it to others. Whereby we may plainly ſee, that Wit and Wealth do not always go together; neither is it ſo much the Effect of great Study and Induſtry, as an advantage of Nature. Men ought not therefore to quarrel, or be angry, when they ſee others make it their buſineſs to inquire into the truth of *Divine* Myſteries, and declare the underſtanding they have of them; ſeeing we ought not to regard ſo much the Authority or Quality of the Diſputer, as the Weight and Truth of what is ſaid. The ſtrength of Reaſon appears moſt clearly, when the Diſcourſe is ſtript of all external Ornaments and Flouriſhes, not painted and ſet off with an artificial Grace and Eloquence,

quence, but ſupported by Truth, which is the Rule of Right and Wrong. Not that I deny, for all that, what *Cæcilius* has given himſelf ſo much trouble to prove, *viz.* That Man ought to know himſelf, what he is, from whence, and for what end; Whether he be compounded of the Elements, or made up of Atoms; or rather fram'd, faſhion'd, and animated by *GOD* himſelf. But this we cannot reſolve without inquiring into the nature of the Univerſe, ſeeing both theſe things have ſo near a relation, and are ſo ſtraitly linked to one another, that we cannot rightly apprehend what Man is, without a diligent enquiry into the nature of the *Deity*; nor be able to manage the civil Affairs of this World, without being acquainted with the conſtitution of this great City of the Univerſe. And indeed it being this eſpecially, that makes us differ from Brutes, that whereas they are continually ſtooping downwards to the ground, looking no higher than their Food; we on the contrary, who have our Faces rais'd upwards

upwards to behold Heaven, and are endued with the uſe of Speech and Reaſon, which teaches us to acknowledge *GOD*, to perceive and imitate Him; we cannot without guilt ſhut our Eyes againſt this clear Light, which continually glares upon our Senſes; it being the higheſt kind of Sacriledge to ſeek that on Earth, which is not to be found but in Heaven. And to ſpeak the truth, one muſt be blind and ſenſeleſs, to fancy all this great and admirable Fabrick of the World, to have been form'd by a fortuitous concourſe of blind, ſenſeleſs, and unthinking Atoms, rather than by the unſearchable Wiſdom and immenſe Power of a *God*. For what can be more plain, evident or conſpicuous (whether we lift up our Eyes to Heaven, or caſt them down to the Earth) than that there is an inconceivably-powerful and wiſe Spirit, which does inſpire, influence, move, cheriſh, and conduct whole Nature, and every part of it? Do but behold the Heavens; Let your thoughts out into the vaſtneſs of their Extenſion;

Extenſion; conſider the ſwiftneſs of their courſe; view them by night, when they ſparkle, and are all beſpangl'd with Stars; or by day, when they are all bright and reſplendent from the Sun; and you will eaſily diſcern the wonderful and *Divine* skill of the Supream Governour in the ordering and poizing of all theſe. Again, conſider how the Sun by his courſe through the Zodiack meaſures out the Year, and diſtinguiſhes its Seaſons, as the Moon does the Months by her increaſe and decreaſe. What ſhall I ſay of this continual viciſſitude of Light and Darkneſs, which affords us the agreeable and neceſſary enterchange of Labour and Reſt? But I muſt leave the further diſcourſe of the *Stars* to the *Aſtrologers*, whoſe proper buſineſs it is to inquire into their Virtues and influences, and who teach us, which of them rule the Winds, and inform the wary Mariner in the Art of Navigation; and which of them determine the time for Plowing and Reaping, and are the perpetual Almanack of the laborious Huſbandman.

bandman. From all which it is undeniably evident, that theſe Wonders could never have been created, fram'd and diſpos'd in that excellent Order, without the perfect Wiſdom of the Supream *Artiſt*; ſeeing we cannot ſo much as know or underſtand them, without a great ſagacity of mind and reaſon. What ſhall we ſay of that exact Diſpoſal of Time and Seaſons, wherein we do not know which we are to admire moſt, their Conſtancy or their Variety? How loudly do they proclaim their *Divine* Author, and Wiſe Director! The *Spring* is not more pleaſant by its fair Days and Flowers, than the heat of *Summer* is uſeful and advantagious to ripen the Fruits of the Earth; and the liberal Plenty of *Autumn* is not more joyful, than the wet and froſt of *Winter* is needful. Which Order might eaſily be diſturbed, if it were not diſpenſed by the ſteady Hand of *Power* and *Wiſdom*. Oh! the Wonders of *Providence!* which has allay'd the nipping froſts of *Winter*, and ſcorching heats of *Summer*, with the inter-

intervening temperature of the *Spring* and *Autumn*; and that with ſuch exactneſs, that the change of theſe extreams of heat and cold, is ſo far from being intolerable, that it is even eaſie and delightful, giving us the pleaſure of variety, and yet ſliding gently and inſenſibly from one extremity to another. Caſt your eye upon the Sea, and to your amazement you ſhall ſee how the looſe Banks of Sand give a check to its proud and raging Waves. Conſider the wonderful ebbings and flowings of the *Ocean*; Behold the Springs whoſe waters flow continually; View the Rivers which purſue their uninterrupted courſe without ceaſing, and ever returning to that vaſt Deep, which is the Center of their Emanation: Take a proſpect of thoſe vaſt Woods and Forreſts, which deck and grace the face of the Earth; they are all fed from its bowels, and yet the Earth is never the leſs. What ſhall I ſay of that pleaſant and uſeful diſpoſal of the ſteepneſs of Mountains, the riſings of Hills, the vaſt extenſion of Plains? Or what ſhall

I ſay of ſuch numberleſs numbers of Creatures, who are (each of them) ſeverally furniſh'd with their peculiar Weapons of defence; ſome are armed with horns, others fenced with teeth; ſome ſtrength'ned with hoofs, others ſharp'ned and edged with claws; ſome appointed with ſtings and ſpurs, others defended with a prickly and unacceſſible skin; whilſt others again ſecure themſelves by the lightneſs of their heels, or ſwiftneſs of their wings; *Nature* having beſtow'd on every one of them either ſtrength or cunning for their own defence? But above all, the perfection and beauty of the Shape of *Man*, proclaims and owns *GOD* to have been the *Artiſt* that fram'd it. His upright Stature, his rais'd Countenance, in the upper part whereof the eyes are poſted as on a Watch-tower, and where all the other Senſes have their ſeveral Stations and Quarters allotted them, as in a Caſtle or Citadel. We ſhould never have done in going about to treat in particular of all theſe Wonders: There is not one part in Man, which

which is not ornamental and graceful, as well as neceſſary: And what is yet more admirable is, That the ſame Figure which is common to us all, is diverſified by ſuch an infinite variety of Features in each of us, that as there is a likeneſs in all, ſo there is in every one ſomething that makes him unlike to another. Beſides, how wonderful is the manner of our Birth? How ſtrong and prevalent the deſire of begetting our Like? Upon whom can you father theſe Wonders but upon *GOD* alone, who ſwells the breaſts with milk, againſt the time the Infant breaks his Priſon, and comes to breath the free and open Air, ſuiting their nice tenderneſs with a proportionate delicate nouriſhment? Nor do's this bountiful *GOD* content himſelf to take a general care of the Univerſe, but provides alſo for each part of it. What *Great Britain* wants of the heat of the Sun, is made up by the warm Vapours which ariſe from the Sea that ſurrounds it. The overflowing of the River *Nilus* ſerves *Egypt* inſtead of Rain. *Euphrates* makes *Meſopotamia* fruitful, and the

the River *Indus* is ſaid both to ſow and water thoſe *Eaſtern* Parts. If perchance you ſhould come into a houſe, and there find all the Rooms richly furniſhed, beautified and adorned, would you not without the leaſt heſitancy conclude, That there is ſome Lord and Owner of it, who is far better than all this rich and glorious Furniture; ſo likewiſe in this ſtately Palace of the World, when you take a view of Heaven and Earth, and that *Providence*, *Order* and *Law*, which diſpenſeth and directs all things in them, doubt, if you can, that there is a Lord and Father of this great Family, whoſe Glory far tranſcends that of the Sun, Moon and Stars, and who is more beautiful than the moſt lovely part of it. But perhaps, ſince there is no doubt whether there be a *Providence* or not, you may think it a Queſtion whether there be but one or many, that have a hand in the adminiſtration of this Celeſtial Government, it will not be a hard matter to fix this your incertainty, if you will but attentively conſider the Kingdoms

doms of the Earth, which are but ſo many Copies of the One Heavenly Original Empire. When did ever a Monarch either admit of a Partner in his Soveraignty, in full truſt and confidence, or lay him aſide without blood? I omit ſpeaking of the *Perſians*, who refer'd the choice of their Prince to the neighing of an Horſe; and purpoſely paſs-by that old Story of the *Theban* Brothers. All the World knows what diſſenſion there aroſe between two Twins, which of them ſhould be King over a Company of Shepherds, and their poor Cottages. The Wars of *Cæſar* and *Pompey* have ſpread themſelves over the whole World, and the Fortune of ſo vaſt an Empire was not big enough to ſatisfie the ambition of two ſo nearly ally'd, as Father and Son-in-Law: You may from theſe inſtances eaſily judge of the reſt. The Bees can ſuffer no more than one King; Flocks follow one Leader, and every Herd has its own Ruler: And can you imagine the Supreme *Power* of Heaven to be divided, and that the Soveraign-

ty of that only true and *Divine* Monarchy is ſhared amongſt many? Eſpecially when you conſider, that *GOD*, the Father of all things, has neither Beginning nor End; and as he gives Beginning to all other things, ſo an Eternity and perpetuity of Being to himſelf. Who before this World was made, was a World to Himſelf; who by his Word commanded all things into Being, governs them by his Wiſdom, and perfects them by his Power. He cannot be ſeen, becauſe he is more bright and glorious than our ſight can endure to behold: Neither can He be comprehended, being greater than our minds, infinite, immenſe and only known to Himſelf; what He is indeed, our breaſts are too narrow to conceive; and we can never form a worthy notion of Him, but when we own Him Ineſtimable and Incomprehenſible. May I ſpeak what I think: Whoſoever fancies he knows the Greatneſs of *GOD*, has already leſſen'd it; and therefore he who would not leſſen it, muſt not pretend to know it. Neither do thou

enquire

enquire after his Name; His Name is *GOD.* 'Tis then we ſtand in need of Names, when we are to divide a multitude into particulars, by their diſtinguiſhing Titles, and proper appellations. But *GOD* being alone and by himſelf, the Name of *GOD* muſt wholly belong to Him, and to none elſe: For if I call Him Father, you'l be apt to think Him an Earthly One; if I call Him King, you'l fancy Him a Worldly Prince; if I call Him Lord, you'l apprehend Him Mortal. Abſtract but theſe additions of Names from our groſs imagination, and you'l ſee Him in his own Brightneſs and Glory. Beſides, in this I have the general aſſent of all Men, concurring with me. Mind the Common-people; When they lift up their hands to Heaven, whom have they in their mouths but *GOD?* Their ordinary Saying is, *GOD is great, GOD is true*; and ever and anon [*If it pleaſes GOD:*] Which Words, though they contain the Confeſſion of a *Chriſtian*, yet are as well the Voice of *Nature* in the Common People.

Yea thoſe who will have *Jupiter* to be the Soveraign of the Univerſe, do only miſtake in the Name; but agree with us in the Thing it ſelf, That there is but One only *Power*. The *Poets* alſo in their Verſes celebrate *One Father both of the Gods and Men*; and ſay, *That the Minds and Thoughts of Men are ſuch as GOD every day puts into them.* And what ſhall we ſay of *Virgil?* Does not he ſpeak yet more clearly and more near to Truth, when he ſaith, *That in the beginning there was a Spirit, which inwardly cheriſhed and foſter'd both Heaven and Earth; and that all the Parts of them were actuated by a Mind infuſed throughout the Whole; and that from thence, Men and all other Creatures derive their Original?* The ſame *Prince* of *Poets* calls in another place this Mind and Spirit *GOD*, as where he ſaith, that *GOD is diffuſed throughout the vaſt Extent of the Earth and Seas, and of the high Heaven; and that from Him, Men and Beaſts, Rain and Lightning do proceed.* And what do we ſay elſe, but that *GOD* is

is an Eternal Mind, Reaſon and Spirit? Let us take a view, if you pleaſe, of the Opinions of *Philoſophers*, and you will find that though they ſeem diverſe, yet they all agree in this Matter. And omitting thoſe rude and primitive Men, who by their Sayings purchaſed the Name of *Sages*; *Thales* the *Mileſian*, who was before them all, and who firſt maintain'd any Diſpute concerning Celeſtial Things, held that Water was the Original Matter of all things, and that *GOD* was that Mind, or Underſtanding Spirit, who fram'd them out of it: Which is certainly a more profound and ſublime Account concerning the Water, and its actuating Spirit, than could proceed from the underſtanding of Man, without the aſſiſtance of *Divine* Revelation. Thus you plainly ſee that the Opinion of the firſt of *Philoſophers*, does entirely concur with ours. After him *Anaximenes* and *Diogenes Apolloniates* make God to be Air, but Immenſe and Infinite, and in aſcribing theſe perfections to the Divinity, they alſo conſent with

us. *Anaxagoras* was of opinion, that *GOD* was an Infinite Spirit, containing and moving all things. *Pythagoras* calls Him a Mind penetrating all things and diffus'd through the Univerſe, taking care of, and giving Life to all the Creatures therein. *Zenophanes* affirms, That *GOD* is an Animated Infinity, or a Spirit joyn'd with Infinite Matter. *Antiſthenes* declar'd, That there were ſeveral *Gods*, belonging to ſeveral Countries; but that there was but *One* Principal and Soveraign amongſt them all, who was *GOD* by Nature. *Speuſippus* was of opinion that *GOD* was nothing elſe but a Natural *Power*, quick'ning and governing all things. Yea, and does not *Democritus* himſelf (though he was the firſt Inventor of Atoms) often call *Nature*, which is the Former of all *Ideas* and Underſtanding, *GOD*; *Strato* calls Him *Nature*; And even *Epicurus*, who either believed that there were no *Gods*; or if there were, that they were idle, and without any concern about the things of this World;

World; yet ſets *Nature* above them. As for *Ariſtotle*, though he ſeem ſometimes divided in his thoughts, about this Matter; yet he poſitively aſſerts *One* Soveraign Power: For ſometimes he ſaith, That an Underſtanding Spirit is *GOD*; ſometimes, that the World is *GOD*; and then again, he will have *GOD* to govern the World. *Heraclides* of *Pontus* aſſerts *GOD* to be a *Divine* Spirit, but with ſome incertainty; For ſometimes he attributes the Supremacy to the *Divine* Spirit, and ſometimes to the World it ſelf. *Theophraſtus*, *Zeno*, *Chryſippus* and *Cleanthes* do likewiſe vary in their Opinions; Yet all of them at laſt agree in One *Providence*, which ſuperintends the Whole. For *Cleanthes* ſometimes affirms *GOD* to be a Spirit; ſometimes, that He is an Æthereal Fire; but moſt frequently calls Him, Reaſon. His Maſter *Zeno* holds a *Natural* and *Eternal* Law, and ſometimes *Fire*, and ſometimes *Reaſon*, to be the firſt *Cauſe* of all *things*. He alſo evidently reproves and convinceth the common Error about the *Gods*, by ſhewing that *Juno* is no-

nothing but the Air, *Jupiter* Heaven, *Neptune* the Sea, and *Vulcan* the Fire; And that many of their other *Gods* are but the Elements dreſs'd up in other Names. *Chryſippus* is much of the ſame Opinion; for with him, ſometimes a *Divine* Power and a *Rational* Nature is *GOD*, and at other times the World, and a fatal Neceſſity; and imitates *Zeno* in his interpreting the Fables of the *Gods*, which are found in *Homer*, *Heſiod*, and *Orpheus*. In like manner *Diogenes* the *Babylonian* was us'd in his Diſcourſes to declare, That *Jupiter*'s Brain being with child and deliver'd of *Minerva*, and other like Stories, were not an account of the true Original of their *Gods*, but of ſome other things couch'd under thoſe Fables. *Xenophon* the Diſciple of *Socrates*, holds, That the ſhape of the true *GOD* cannot be ſeen, and conſequently is not to be ſearcht after. *Ariſto* of the Iſle of *Chios*, ſays, That he is altogether incomprehenſible: Both which *Philoſophers*, had doubtleſs a right ſenſe of the *Divine* Majeſty,

in

in that they deſpair'd of ever fully underſtanding Him. As for *Plato*, he does more openly and clearly ſpeak of *GOD*, and does leſs miſtake, both as to the Name and the Thing it ſelf; and his Diſcourſes might have been accounted altogether Heavenly, but that they are here and there blemiſh'd and tainted with his Politicks. In his *Timæus* he calls *GOD* by his Own Name, and declares Him to be the Father of this Univerſe, the Creator of the Soul, and the Architect of Heaven and Earth; who by reaſon of his ſuperlative and incomprehenſible Power and Majeſty, is hard to be found, and when found, cannot poſſibly be expreſs'd and declar'd: Which are, in a manner, the very ſame things which we ſay; for we alſo know *GOD*, and own Him to be the Parent of the World; but unleſs we be demanded, we do not ſpeak publickly of Him.

THUS I have rehears'd the Opinions of almoſt all the *Philoſophers*, whoſe glory it is, that they have all pointed at *One* and the ſame *GOD*, though

though under various Names; inſomuch as it would make a Man think, either that our *Chriſtians* now are *Philoſophers*, or that the ancient *Philoſophers* were *Chriſtians*. Now if it be granted that *Providence* rules the World, and is govern'd by the Will and Counſel of the *One* only *GOD*; then ought not we to ſuffer our ſelves to be impos'd upon with the ſilly Fables of *Antiquity*, which are both repugnant to Reaſon, and condemn'd by the *Philoſophers* of ancient Times. Our Fathers indeed were ſo credulous, as to believe things altogether monſtrous and inconſiſtant, as a *Scylla* with ſeveral Bodies, a *Chimæra* with many ſhapes, an *Hydra* that receiv'd a new life from his happy Wounds, and *Centaures*, which were Horſe and Man united and growing together. In ſhort, they very readily believ'd whatever any one was pleas'd to feign or fancy; as Men's being metamorphos'd into Birds; Beaſts into Men, and again Men into Flowers and Trees; with ſo many other fabulous things, which

which, had they ever been, would happen ſtill; but becauſe they cannot be, are hereby ſufficiently demonſtrated never to have been. Their Opinions concerning the *Gods* were likewiſe full of inconſiderate credulity and ignorant ſimplicity; for by giving Religious Worſhip to their Kings, and deſiring by Pictures and Statues to preſerve their memory, after their Death, they at laſt made a Religious Ceremony of that which at firſt was only intended to comfort themſelves for the loſs of them. For before the World was open'd by *Commerce* and *Trade*, and that *Nations* had mixt their *Cuſtoms* and *Ceremonies* together, every one of them ador'd their firſt Founder, or Famous Leader, or ſome Queen Chaſt, and valiant above her Sex; or an Inventor of ſome uſeful and neceſſary Art or Calling; as conſidering that the Memory of ſuch Renowned Perſons, well-deſerved to be preſerv'd by them; ſince by this means they at once gave a reward to the Virtue of the Deceaſed, and an example to Poſterity.

Read

Read the Writings of Wiſe-men, and particularly of the *Stoicks*, and you will acknowledge with me, that Men have been worſhip'd as *Gods*, either for their good Deeds, or their Dignity. *Euhemerus* gives us an exact account of their Birth, Countries and Names, as alſo the ſeveral Places where they were buryed; particularly he inſtanceth in *Jupiter* call'd *Dictæus*, from the Mountain *Dictæ* in *Candia*, where he was nurs'd; and *Apollo* nam'd *Delphicus*, from the City *Delphos* in *Phocis*, a Province of *Greece*; and *Iſis*, who had the Sirname of *Pharia*, from the Iſland *Pharos* in *Egypt*; and *Ceres*, who was ſtyl'd *Eleuſina*, from the City *Eleuſis* in *Achaia*, where ſhe was more particularly worſhip'd. *Prodicus* tells us, that they were reckon'd among the *Gods*, who by rambling through the World, were the firſt Inventors of Huſbandry, and by this means became uſeful to Mankind. And *Perſeus* diſcourſeth much at the ſame rate; adding, that it was from this ground, that the Names of the Inventors were beſtow'd

ſtow'd upon the things invented by them, as appears by that Comical Expreſſion [*Without* Ceres *and* Bacchus, Venus *is a cold*] Which in other terms is no more than this, That *without good Meat and Drink Luſt languiſheth. Alexander* the Great in a famous Treatiſe which he writes to his Mother, tells her, That the dread of his Power had ſo far wrought upon a Prieſt, as to make him diſcover to him this great Secret and Myſtery, that the *Gods* were but Men. In which Diſcourſe he makes *Vulcan* the firſt of all the *Gods*, and after him the Race of *Jupiter*. Conſider the Story of *Iſis*, and the ſcatter'd members and empty Tomb of thy *Serapis* or *Oſiris*; and laſtly, their Religious Rites and Myſteries, and you'l find them made up of the diſmal Events, Deaths, Funerals, Mourning and Wailings of theſe caitive *Gods Iſis* in company of the *Dog's-Head-Idol*, and her bald *Prieſts*, mourns for, laments and ſeeks her loſt Son, and her miſerable Worſhippers beat their breaſts, to expreſs and imitate the ſorrow of this unhappy

happy Mother; and ſoon after you ſee *Iſis* by and by overjoy'd for having found her Little-One; her *Prieſts* are merry, and the *Dog*'s ſnout triumphs for the feat he has done in finding him. Thus they fail not punctually every year to loſe what they have found, and then to find again what they have loſt. Now I pray you, what can be more ridiculous, than to bewail that which we worſhip, or to worſhip that which we bewail? And yet ſuch fopperies as theſe, which formerly were the Religion of the *Egyptians*, are now (forſooth) become the Devotions of the *Romans*. *Ceres* with lighted torches in her hands, and Serpents twiſting about them, ſeeks her Daughter *Proſerpina*, full of languiſhing care and trouble, who having ſtray'd too far, was ſtoln away and raviſh'd by *Pluto*. This is the ſum and ſubſtance of the *Eleuſinian* Myſteries: And the Rites uſed in the Worſhip of *Jupiter*, are no leſs ridiculous. He is ſuckled by a She-goat, for want of a better Nurſe, and the poor Infant is ſtoln away from his

his Father, for fear he ſhould devour him; the *Corybantes* in the mean while ſoundly plying their Cymbals, to drown the cryes of the Bantling, from coming to the ears of his more than inhumane Father. I am aſham'd to relate the Account they give of *Cybele*, how ſhe gelded *Atys*, and made him an Eunuch-God, becauſe ſhe could not tempt him to commit Adultery with her, who was old and ugly, having been the Mother of ſo many *Gods*. And therefore, anſwerably to this Story, her *Prieſts* voluntarily geld themſelves, to the end they might be capable of that Dignity. I leave you to judge, whether theſe be not real miſeries, rather than Religious Myſteries. Come we now to ſpeak of the goodly form, meen and accoutrements of your *Gods*; than which, what can be more ſhameful and ridiculous? *Vulcan* is a limping crazy *God*. *Apollo*, though he has liv'd ſo many Ages, is ſtill a beardleſs Boy; whereas his Son *Æſculapius* has a fair and comely Beard. *Neptune*'s Eyes are blue; *Minerva*'s

Minerva's gray; *Juno* has Ox-Eyes; *Pan*'s Feet are garniſh'd with claws; *Saturn*'s are charg'd with fetters, and *Mercury*'s fledg'd with Wings. *Janus* has two faces, as if he would go backward and forward at once. *Diana* the Huntreſs has her Garments tuck'd up to her thighs; but She at *Epheſus*, is in a manner made up all of paps: As ſhe is the Goddeſs of Hell, they give her three Heads, and good ſtore of Arms and Hands. Yea, your *Jupiter* himſelf ſometimes has a Beard of much gravity, and at other times has a Chin as bare as my hand. When he has the Sirname of *Hammon*, he wears horns; when that of *Capitolinus*, he is arm'd with Thunder-bolts; when that of *Latiaris*, he is all beſmear'd with blood; and when that of *Feretrius*, he is very ſtill and quiet. And not to go over the many ſeveral *Jupiters*, there being as many Monſters of him, as there are Names. *Erigone* hangs her ſelf; and the Merit of Self-murther hath advanc'd her to ſhine a perpetual Virgin among the Stars. *Caſtor* and *Pollux*

lux dye and live by turns. *Æſculapius* is ſtruck down with a Thunderbolt, that with the greater Ceremony he may riſe up a *God*: And *Hercules* muſt burn himſelf upon Mount *Oeta*, to get rid of his Humanity. Theſe are the fine Stories, which we learn from our ignorant Fore-fathers; and, what is worſe, make them the ſubject of our Studies, and a great piece of Learning. In theſe the *Poets* excel all others, and have by their Authority done vaſt prejudice to the Truth; So that *Plato* was much in the right, when he baniſh'd *Homer* (that renown'd, celebrated and crown'd *Poet*) out of his Commonwealth. For it is he chiefly, who in his Poem of the *Trojan* Wars, has made a mock of the *Gods*, by mingling them ſo familiarly in the actions and affairs of Men. He brings them in fighting together; He wounds *Venus*; He fetters and binds *Mars*, wounds him and puts him to flight: He make *Brtareus* to reſcue *Jupiter* out of the hands of the reſt of the *Gods*, when they were conſpiring to bind him to his good behaviour;

and repreſents him lamenting the death of his Son *Sarpedon*, as not being able to prevent it. He deſcribes him embracing his *Juno* with more heat, than he us'd to do his belov'd Miſtreſſes, being inflam'd with *Venus*'s Girdle. *Hercules* is made a Scavenger, and cleanſeth Stables. *Apollo* turns Cow-herd to *Admetus*. *Neptune* binds himſelf as a Day-labourer to *Laomedon*, to build up the Walls of *Troy*, and is ſo unhappy withal, as not to be paid for his drudgery. *Æneas*'s Armour, and *Jupiter*'s Thunder-bolt are both hammer'd out upon one and the ſame Anvil; as if Heaven and its Thunders had not been long before *Jupiter* was born in *Crete*; or as if the *Cyclopſes* could have made thoſe affrighting flaſhes, which *Jupiter* himſelf could not chooſe but be afraid of. What ſhall I ſay of *Mars* and *Venus*, being caught in the very Fact of Adultery; or of *Jupiter*'s abominable filthineſs with *Ganymedes*, whom he tranſlated into Heaven? All which Fables were invented on purpoſe to authorize the faults and vices of Men. And it

is with thoſe and ſuch like pleaſing Fictions and Lyes, that the Minds of Youth are corrupted; and being inſtill'd into them in their tender years, grow up with them to Manhood; So that (which is to be lamented) in their very old Age their Minds continue tainted with theſe ſottiſh Fancies; And yet the truth of theſe Matters, is moſt plain and evident to thoſe who will take the pains to enquire into it. All the Antient Writers (whether *Greek* or *Roman*) do unanimouſly aſſert, that *Saturn*, the firſt of the goodly Generation of *Gods*, was but a Man. This, *Nepos* and *Craſſus* do affirm in their Hiſtory; and *Thallus* and *Diodorus* relate the ſame thing; *viz.* That this *Saturn* for fear of falling into his Son's hands, fled out of *Greece* into *Italy*, where *Janus* receiv'd him into his houſe; and being a *Grecian*, full of ingenuity, and inſtructed in Arts and Sciences, taught thoſe barbarous people ſeveral things; as the forming of the Letters of the Alphabet; coining of Money, and

making diverſe ſorts of uſeful Inſtruments: He call'd the Country *Latium*, as if he had ſaid, an *Hiding-place*, becauſe he had found there a ſafe retreat to hide and conceal himſelf from the attempts of his Son; and to the end he might have his Memory preſerv'd, he call'd the City from his own Name *Saturnia*; as *Janus* call'd the City built upon the Hill *Janniculus*, by that Name, to reſcue his own from oblivion. You ſee then plainly, that *Saturn* was a Man; for he was fain to flee and hide himſelf; and was the Father, as well as the Son, of a Man. And whereas they call'd him the Son of Heaven and Earth, it was only becauſe his Original and Parentage were unknown to the *Italians*; as we are wont to ſay of thoſe that come unexpectedly upon us, that they are dropt from the Skies; and of ſuch whoſe birth is mean and obſcure, that they are the Sons of the Earth. As for *Jupiter*, he Reign'd in *Crete*, after he had baniſh'd his Father from that Iſland; there he begot Children, and there

there he was buried: And at this very day they ſhew the Cave which bears his Name, and point you to the Grave where he was interred; yea, and the very Ceremonies they uſe in his Worſhip, declare him to have been a Man. It would be to no purpoſe to inſiſt on particulars, and to recount his whole *Genealogy:* It is enough that we have prov'd the Father was Mortal, to convince that the ſame Quality was conveigh'd to all his Poſterity; except you ſuppoſe that they became *Gods* after their Death; as by the Perjury of *Proculus*, *Romulus* was rank'd among the Number of the *Gods*; or as *Juba*, by the unanimous conſent and deſire of the *Africans*, was made a *God*; and as other Kings were Deifi'd by their Subjects, not becauſe they really believ'd them to be *Gods*, but to give them a more honourable diſcharge from their Soveraignty. Beſides, this extravagant Honour is confer'd upon them againſt their Wills; they deſire to continue Men as they are, and are afraid of being Deify'd; and though

old, are not at all ambitious of that Glory. Wherefore we are not to look for *Gods* among thoſe that dye, becauſe the *Gods* are Immortal; nor among thoſe who are born, becauſe they are likewiſe obnoxious to Death. *That* only deſerves the Name of a *Deity* which hath neither Beginning nor End. For if *Gods* were ever born, why are they not ſo ſtill, except you will ſay, that now *Jupiter* is too old, and *Juno* paſt Child-bearing; or that they are of the humour of *Minerva*, who choſe to be an old Maid, rather than a Mother? Or indeed have not thoſe pretended *Deities* ceaſed to procreate, becauſe Men have ceaſed to believe ſuch Stories? Moreover, if the *Gods* could beget Children, and thoſe Children muſt needs be Immortal, we ſhould already have had more *Gods* than Men; So that by this time the Heavens would not contain them, nor the Air hold them, nor the Earth bear the vaſt increaſe of them. Let us therefore make no difficulty to affirm them to have been Men, of whoſe Birth

Birth and Death we are ſo fully aſſur'd. Neither need any be far to ſeek for a reaſon why the common people, notwithſtanding all this, do adore and worſhip theſe Conſecrated Images; their fooliſh Minds being decoy'd and allur'd by the Curioſity of thoſe Maſterpieces of Art, their Eyes dazled with the luſtre of the Gold, and the brightneſs of the Silver, and poliſh'd whiteneſs of the Ivory. But if any body will take time to conſider how theſe Figures are made, and with what Inſtruments they are carv'd and fram'd, he will bluſh at his ſtanding in awe of a Material, that has been ſo abus'd, cut and mangled by the Work-man, before he could make a *God* of it. For if this *God* be of Wood, it may be it is the remnant of a funeral Pile, or Gallows; which they under-prop, cut, plane and make ſmooth. If it be of Silver or Braſs, it may poſſibly be made of an old Kettle, or ſomething worſe; (as it hath often happen'd to one of the Kings of *Egypt*) and then it is molten, beaten, hammer'd and faſhion'd

ſhion'd on an Anvil; and if of Stone, hew'd, wrought and poliſh'd (it may be) by ſome debauch'd and wicked Fellow. Yet is not the *God*, in the leaſt, ſenſible of all theſe tortures and indignities, offer'd to him at his Birth, no more than he is afterwards of the Honour, which accrues to him by your Conſecration and Worſhip; except you will ſay, that this Stone, Wood or Silver is not yet a *God*. But pray when is it, that the Divinity of it commences? Behold! it is melted, faſhion'd and grav'd; but it is not a *God* yet: It is ſolder'd, put together and ſet up; yet ſtill it is no *God:* At laſt it is adorn'd, conſecrated and worſhip'd; and then at laſt with much adoe it is a *God*, when it hath pleas'd vain Man thus to dedicate it. But how much more truly do the moſt contemptible of Animals and Inſects, judge your *Gods!* The Mice, Swallows and Kites know very well, that they have no ſenſe at all; they tread and pearch upon them, and were they not driven away by you, they would build

build their Neſts in their very Mouths; the Spiders cover their faces with their Cobwebs, and make uſe of their heads to faſten their threads at. You wipe, cleanſe and bruſh them, and protect the *Gods*, which your ſelves have made, and yet pretend to fear them. And all this while you don't conſider that *GOD* muſt be known by you, before you can worſhip Him, and inconſiderately comply with your Fathers Opinions, and chooſe rather to follow others in their Errors, than credit your own Judgments; and in a word, know not what that is for which you have ſuch an awe and reverence. Thus by hallowing of *Gold* and *Silver*, you have conſecrated *Avarice*; thus your vain Images come to be ſtamp'd with the imaginary ſhape of a *Deity*; thus the *Roman* Superſtition had its riſe, and that vaſt number of *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, wherein there are ſo many which are ſilly and ridiculous, and ſo many which deſerve pity and compaſſion. Some run about the Streets ſtark naked in the ſharpeſt cold

cold of Winter; others wear fools-caps, and carry about antick ſhields in their hands; others lance their own skins, and lead their blind *Gods* a begging about the ſtreets. They have ſome Temples which they may not viſit but once a year, and others which none may ever enter but the *Prieſts* alone: Again, they have ſome that are ſhut up from Women, and others prohibited to Men. They have ſome *Ceremonies*, at which a Slave is not permitted to aſſiſt, without a great crime. Some of your Statues may not be crown'd but by the hands of a Woman, who hath known but one Man; others again, only by ſuch as have had to do with many; and with great devotion you ſearch for the moſt lewd and common Harlot that is to be found, to officiate at your Holy-things. What ſhall we ſay of thoſe, who ſhed their own blood for a Drink-Offering, and by wounding themſelves, think to procure the favour of the *Gods*. Were it not better for them to be *Prophane*, than to be thus *Religious*?

gious? And do not they alſo offend *GOD*, inſtead of appeaſing Him, who from a ſtrange Superſtition geld themſelves; ſince if *GOD* delighted in *Eunuchs*, he could have made them ſo, without the aſſiſtance of Man's cruelty? But indeed, who does not ſee that they are poor diſtracted and crack-brain'd men, who act theſe follies; which have nothing to plead for them, but the multitude of thoſe who are engag'd in the ſame Error; as if becauſe this madneſs is Epidemical, it were therefore lawful and juſt too? But you object, that this, which I call Superſtition, has given the *Romans* ſo vaſt an Empire; founded it at firſt, and afterwards rais'd it to that high pitch; they having been always, rather more famous for their Religion and Piety, than for Proweſs and Valour. Well may they boaſt of the remarkable inſtances of their Virtue and Juſtice, from the very Cradle and firſt beginnings of their Empire! Was it not their Crimes that aſſociated them at firſt, and their Cruelty afterwards, that

that made them dreadful to their Neighbours, and laid the firſt Foundation of their Government? For their Country being a Sanctuary and Place of Refuge for all ſorts of Criminals, a great number of Thieves, Traitors, Murtherers, Sacrilegious and Inceſtuous perſons were ſoon gather'd together; and to the end, that he who was their great Captain-General, might excel them all in *Villany*, as he did in *Dignity*, he kill'd his own Brother. Theſe were the auſpicious beginnings of this Holy City. Soon after, contrary to the Law of Nature, they ſteal away Maids already promiſed, yea betrothed, and Married Women too, from their own Husbands, and force and abuſe them; and defend their Crime by warring againſt their Fathers-in-law, and ſhedding the blood of their neareſt Allies: Than which, what can be thought of more prodigious, more barbarous and as, they preſum'd, ſafe in the confidence of their wickedneſs? Their next work is, to drive their Neighbours out of their own Countries;

tries; to deſtroy their Cities, rob their Churches, and defile their Altars; carry them into Captivity, and enrich themſelves by Crimes, and the ſpoils and ruine of others. Theſe were the Maxims and Practice both of *Romulus* and his Succeſſors; So that whatever they have, poſſeſs, and worſhip, is all the purchaſe of bold Robbery. Their Temples are built and adorn'd with the ſpoils they have taken in War, that is, with the ruine of Cities, pillage of *Gods* and *Temples*, and ſlaughter of their *Prieſts*. What an inſolent piece of mockery is this, to eſtabliſh thoſe Religious *Rites*, you have ſo horribly prophan'd, and to worſhip thoſe *Gods*, who were once your Captives? For to pay Adoration to that which you have taken in War, is not ſo much a conſecrating of *Deities*, as an hallowing of *Sacriledge*. Indeed all the Triumphs of the *Romans* were but ſo many horrid Impieties, and all their Trophies, ſo many Sacriledges. It is not therefore the Religion of the *Romans*, that has made them ſo great, as the impunity

impunity of their Villanies. For how can it be thought, that thoſe *Gods* ſhould favour them in their Wars, againſt whom they took Arms; and which they did not worſhip, till they had firſt led them in Triumph? Beſides, what could thoſe *Gods* do for the *Romans*, who had not been able to do any thing againſt them, either in defence of themſelves, or their people? For as for their own *Country-Gods*, they are well known what they were. *Romulus*, *Picus*, *Tiberinus*, *Conſus*, *Pilumnus* and *Picunnus*, were all Worſhipful *Roman Gods*; And beſides theſe, *Tatius* was the firſt that made and worſhipp'd *Cloacina* (with reverence be it ſpoken) for a *Goddeſs*. *Hoſtilius* built *Temples* to *Fear* and *Paleneſs*; and ſoon after, I don't know who rear'd an *Altar* to the *Goddeſs Ague*. In theſe Superſtitions was *Rome* nurs'd up, and taught to worſhip Diſeaſes and Indiſpotions of health! And thoſe two proſtitute Harlots, *Flora* and *Acca Laurentia*, whom they rank among their *Divinities*, may very well be reckon'd alſo

alſo among their *Maladies.* And yet theſe forſooth are the *Gods*, that have enlarg'd the *Roman* Empire, and vanquiſh'd the *Gods* of other Nations; for it would be madneſs to ſuppoſe, that *Mars* the *God* of *Thracia*, *Jupiter* of *Crete*, *Juno* the *Goddeſs* of *Argos*, *Samos* and *Carthage*; *Diana* of *Epheſus* and *Scythia*, the *Mother* of the *Gods*, and the *Deities*, or rather Monſters, of *Egypt*, ſhould ever help the *Romans* againſt their own people, who for ſo many years had been their conſtant Worſhippers. But it may be they were willing to make this Change, becauſe at *Rome* the *Prieſts* are more Holy, and the Sacred *Virgins* more Chaſt than any where elſe? Very likely; when for the moſt part thoſe have ſuffer'd the puniſhment of Inceſt, who committed it leſs cautiouſly; whereas the reſt eſcaped, not by their being leſs criminal, but by having better hap in the concealing of their lewdneſs. And as for the *Prieſts*, where do they play the Whore-maſters more, than in the Temples and before the Altars? Here they

they exerciſe the function of Pimps and Panders, and deſign and contrive Adulteries: Neither does Luſt and Debauchery abound ſo much in the publick Stews, as in their Veſtries and Cells. But beſides, were there not other great Empires and States flouriſhing before theſe Superſtitions were invented, or ſo much as thought-of? As the *Aſſyrians*, *Medes* and *Perſians*, *Grecians* and *Egyptians*, though they had no *Pontifs*, nor that rabble of *Arvales* and *Salii*, *Veſtals* and *Augurs*; nor no Chickens religiouſly penn'd up, from whoſe feeding, or refuſing their Meat, all meaſures were taken, and the greateſt Affairs of ſtate determin'd. But let's come now to thoſe *Auguries* and *Divinations* by the flight or chattering of Birds, which the *Romans* ſo religiouſly obſerv'd, and the neglect or contempt of which (as you took notice) has prov'd as fatal, as the heeding of the ſame has been fortunate. Was it becauſe the moſt ſolemn dancing of the Barley peckt by the Chickens, was not waited for, that the Armies of *Clodius*,

Junius

Junius and *Flaminius* were defeated? But what ſhall we ſay then of *Regulus*, who religiouſly obſerv'd all theſe, and yet was taken by the Enemy? and ſo did *Mancinus*; and for all that, was forced to ſurrender himſelf upon diſhonourable terms. *Paulus*'s Chickens fed heartily at the Battel of *Cannæ*, yet he periſh'd, and the greateſt part of the Commonwealth with him. And though *Cæſar* made ſlight of the *Auguries* that forbad him to go into *Africa* before Winter, yet had he a ſucceſsful Voyage, and return'd Conqueror; ſo that his contempt of theſe fopperies did but ſeem to favour his Paſſage and Victory. Now as to the *Oracles*, how many things might not I have to ſay concerning them? *Amphiaraus* after his death foretells future events to others, who when alive could not foreſee the treachery of his Wife againſt him, for a Bracelet of Gold. *Tireſias* the blindman propheſies things to come, and yet is not aware of what is preſent. *Ennius* in behalf of *Pyrrhus* counterfeits the Anſwers of *Apollo*,

ſeeing he was become ſpeechleſs; whoſe wary and ambiguous *Oracle* was ſilenc'd as ſoon as Men began to be more wiſe and leſs credulous. Thus *Demoſthenes* was not afraid to accuſe the *She-Prieſts* of *Apollo* of giving ſuch anſwers as *Philip* would have her, being well acquainted with thoſe Holy jugglings. But what? Will you then deny that *Oracles* and *Auguries* ever hit the truth? Well, ſuppoſe we grant it: Pray what will it avail to the Credit of *Oracles*, if among ſo many lies one true word has, at a venture, been delivered; or that *Chance* has, ſometimes, imitated *Deſign*. But give me leave to go back to the Spring, from whence theſe Errors flow, and diſcover the Deep, from which ſuch groſs darkneſſes do iſſue forth. There are certain impure and vagrant Spirits, who being loaden with Earthly pollutions and deſires have ſunk themſelves down to this lower Orbe, from their Original Station: and thoſe miſerable wretches having thus loſt the Natural advantages wherewith they were created,

ated, and having given up themſelves to all manner of Vices, they endeavour to comfort themſelves under this calamity, by bringing others into the ſame miſery; for as they have corrupted themſelves, ſo do they delight in nothing more than to corrupt others; and as they have ſeparated themſelves from *GOD*, ſo do they their utmoſt endeavours by falſe ways, Religions and Superſtition, to keep Mankind eſtranged from Him. Theſe *Spirits*, the *Poets* acknowledge to be *Dæmons*; concerning whoſe Nature the *Philoſophers* maintain ſeveral Diſputes; and they were very well known to *Socrates*, who had one of them always attending him, according to whoſe intimations, he either undertook or declin'd all buſineſs. The *Magicians* alſo are very well acquainted with this ſort of *Spirits*, by whoſe help they do all thoſe ſtrange Feats, and Juggling tricks, by which they make us believe, we ſee that which is not, or not to ſee, that which really is; and in a word atchieve to our

great amazement all thoſe extraordinary and aſtoniſhing Wonders that are ſpoken of. Nevertheleſs *Hoſtanes*, who was the *Chiefeſt* of all theſe *Magicians*, both in word and deed, gives *GOD* the Honour due to Him, and ſays that the Angels are his Miniſters and Meſſengers, who adore Him with fear and trembling; To which he adds, that the *Dæmons* are Earthly and Vagabond *Spirits*, that hate Mankind. And *Plato*, who found it a hard matter to know *GOD*, did not find it ſo, to know them. He ſpeaks both of *Dæmons* and *Angels*, and in his *Dialogue* call'd the *BANQUET*, he endeavours to explain the Nature of the former; ſaying, That they are of a *Middle* ſubſtance between *Mortal* and *Immortal*, that is, between a *Body* and *Spirit*; being made of a mixture of Terreſtrial groſneſs, and Celeſtial purity. By which means they have an eaſie acceſs to us, to ſtir up our deſires, and by conveighing themſelves into our hearts, to affect our Senſes, raiſe our Paſſions, and kindle in our Souls

Souls the flames of Luſt. Theſe *Dæmons* then, who are mix'd and impure *Spirits*, as we have plainly demonſtrated by the Authority of *Wiſemen*, *Philoſophers*, and *Plato* himſelf, lurk privately in thoſe Statues and Images, which are conſecrated unto them; and by their *Enthuſiaſms* get ſo great an Authority over the minds of men, as of preſent *Deities*; and this, by inſpiring their *Prophets*, dwelling in their Temples; by animating and acting the Entrails of Beaſts; by directing the flying of Birds, determining of Lots, and uttering *Oracles*, which are generally obſcure, and mixt with abundance of lyes; for they both deceive others, and are deceiv'd themſelves; who as they do not know the Truth fully, ſo they oft conceal, and will not confeſs that which they do know, becauſe it tends to their own ſhame and confuſion. Thus they make it their buſineſs to depreſs, and ſink us downwards from Heaven to Earth, and to eſtrange us from *GOD*, by immerſing us into Matter; They

trouble and diſquiet our life, moleſt us with Dreams; and this by the advantage they have, as *Spirits*, to convey themſelves into our Bodies; where they counterfeit Diſeaſes, terrifie our Minds, diſtort our Members, thereby to oblige us to adore them; and that after they are glutted with the reaking ſteam of Altars, and the blood of ſlain Beaſts, by undoing their own Charms, the honour of Healing might be attributed to them. They are theſe very *Spirits*, which act thoſe raging mad folks, whom you ſee running along the ſtreets, and who are every whit as much *Prophets*, as thoſe who give anſwers in your *Temples*; for they both foame, rage, and are whirl'd about alike: Indeed they are *Dæmons* which poſſeſs the one, as well as the other, with this only difference, that the object of their madneſs does vary. From the ſame alſo proceed all thoſe deluſions, you even now rehears'd, as that of *Jupiter*'s commanding in a Dream that his Games ſhould be reſtor'd; the appearance of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, on Horſe-

Horſeback, and that of a Ship being tow'd along by the girdle of a *Roman* Matron. The moſt now adays, and among them many of your own Party, know very well, that the *Devils* themſelves do oft confeſs all theſe things, when by the torture of our Words, and the Fire of our Prayers, they are driven out and diſpoſſeſs'd. Then it is that *Saturn*, *Serapis* and *Jupiter* with all the Crew of *Gods* you worſhip, being overcome with anguiſh, do declare plainly what they are; nor have they the power by lying, to conceal their own ſhame (as you may be ſure they fain would) though ſome of their deluded Adorers be preſent. Sure you will credit the teſtimony of your own *Gods*, when they witneſs the Truth againſt themſelves, and confeſs they are Devils. For when thoſe Wretches are conjur'd to come forth by the Name of the *True* and *Only GOD*, they tremble and quake within the Bodies they have poſſeſs'd, and either leap forth preſently, or vaniſh by degrees, according as the Faith of the

Patient, and Grace of the Ghoſtly Phyſician are ſtronger or weaker; So that they dread the nearneſs of thoſe *Chriſtians*, whom at a diſtance, by your means, they trouble and diſturb in their Aſſemblies; and to that end inſinuate themſelves into the hearts of the ſimple and ignorant, and there ſow the ſeeds of hatred againſt our Religion: For nothing is more natural, than to hate thoſe whom we dread, and give all the trouble we can, to thoſe of whom we ſtand in awe. So they prepoſſeſs and prejudice the hearts of men againſt us, that they begin to hate us, before they know us; leſt knowing us, without this prejudice, they might deſire to imitate, or at leaſt not be able to condemn us. Now how unjuſt it is to paſs a Judgment upon things which one knows not, as you do in condemning us, you may take warning from us, who do ſo heartily repent for having committed the ſame fault; for we were once as you are, and had the ſame Sentiments, being involv'd in the ſame blindneſs

and

and ſtupidity of Error, when we believ'd that the *Chriſtians* worſhip'd Monſters, devour'd Children, defil'd their Feaſts with Inceſts; without conſidering, that though ſuch things were commonly reported, yet they never were prov'd, and that none all this while has ever confeſs'd the leaſt tittle of any one of theſe Crimes, though beſides the aſſurance of Pardon, the reward of ſuch a diſcovery might have been a great temptation thereunto. Indeed to be a *Chriſtian*, is ſo far from implying any thing that is evil or criminal, that they who are convict, neither bluſh at it, nor fear the puniſhment which attends it: No, you ſee them glory in it, and troubled at nothing but that they were ſo no ſooner. Nevertheleſs we our ſelves, at the ſame time when we undertook the Defence of *Parricides*, and perſons guilty of Sacriledges and Inceſt, would not ſo much as hear the Plea that *Chriſtians* were ready to make for themſelves, whom we ſometimes made endure a cruel torture, not out of hatred, but pity, forſooth,

forſooth, that by conſtraining them through the greatneſs of torments to renounce their Religion, we might ſave their lives. Oh! perverſe Inquiſition, to make uſe of the Rack, not to force the ſufferer to declare the Truth, but to deny it. Now if it ſo happened that any one, leſs conſtant, being overcome with the pains of thoſe tortures, did renounce his Religion, he was received into favour, as if by ſuch an abjuration, he had made atonement for all the Crimes, which are commonly charg'd upon them. By which you may plainly ſee, that we formerly were of the ſame mind and perſuaſion with you, doing the very ſame things as you do now. But indeed, had you been govern'd by *Reaſon*, and not by the inſtigation of *Evil Spirits*, your buſineſs would have been to have urg'd the *Chriſtians* not to renounce their Religion; but to confeſs their Inceſts, Whoredoms, impious Ceremonies, and their Sacrificing of Infants; which are the fabulous Stories wherewith the ſame *Dæmons* have fill'd the ſilly people's

ple's Minds, to make them deteſt and abhor us. But no wonder if all theſe horrid lyes and Fictions do vaniſh away before the appearance of Truth, which thoſe Monſters ſo much oppoſe, making it their buſineſs to ſpread and foment falſe reports. From theſe alſo that Fable had its riſe, That we worſhip an *Aſſe*'s Head. But, I pray you, who can be conceiv'd ſo much a fool, to worſhip ſuch a thing; or rather, who is ſo much a fool as to believe we do it, except thoſe who are guilty of as extravagant and impious Devotions themſelves? For indeed it is you make both *Aſſes* and Stables Holy, by having conſecrated your *Goddeſs Hippona*, and given her the Charge over them; and when you celebrate the ſolemn *Rites* of your *Goddeſs Iſis*, you, with a great deal of *Ceremony*, adorn that *Animal*: Yea, you pay Adoration to the heads of *Oxen* and *Rams*; ſo that you *Worſhip* the ſame Beaſts, which you *Sacrifice*. Some of your *Gods* are made up of a mixt ſhape of *Goats* and *Men*, and others of them have

have the Heads half of *Dogs* and half of *Lyons*. Don't you with the *Egyptians* worſhip and feed an *Ox* under the Name of *Apis*? Neither do you diſavow the worſhip of their other goodly *Deities*; as *Serpents*, *Crocodiles*, and other *Beaſts*, *Birds* and *Fiſhes*; ſo that it is accounted *Capital*, to kill any one of theſe *Gods*. Are there not a great many amongſt you, who with the *Egyptians*, ſtand as much in awe of the biting ſharpneſs of an Onion, as of their *Goddeſs Iſis*, and are as much afraid of the noiſe of breaking wind backward, as of their *God Serapis*? As for ſuch as accuſe us of adoring the privy Parts of our *Prieſts*, they do but charge us with their own Villanies; for ſuch filthy Devotions are very ſuitable to thoſe debauched and lewd people, among whom 'tis but too common for both Sexes, to proſtitute all their Members, and who give the name of Courteſie and kindneſs to the moſt extravagant Obſcenity and Laſciviouſneſs; who envy the liberty of Strumpets, and commit ſuch unnatural filthineſs with

with one another, as no modeſt Tongue can expreſs, or Pen ſet down; and who ſooner grow weary, than aſham'd of their impudent laſciviouſneſs. Oh horrible lewdneſs! They willingly ſuffer thoſe things to be committed upon themſelves, which neither tender age is able to bear, nor the baſeſt of ſlaves will yield to. As for our part, we are ſo far from being guilty of ſuch filthy actions, that we do even bluſh at the bare recital of them; and indeed, I ſhould think my ſelf to tranſgreſs the bounds of Civility, ſhould I inſiſt any longer upon this Matter, though it be in order to defend our Religion. For really you accuſe us, who are Chaſt and Modeſt, of ſuch Crimes, as we could not have believed there had been ſuch, had there not been the proofs of them from among your ſelves. As to that which you ſay, that we worſhip a wicked Perſon and his Croſs, you are greatly miſtaken; for how could he have deſerv'd to be worſhipp'd, had he been an Evil-doer; or to be believ'd a *GOD*, had he been only

only Earthly? He is ſurely very miſerable, who repoſes all his confidence in a mortal man, ſince all hopes of his help dye with him. The *Egyptians* indeed are guilty of this folly, who chuſe a Man for the Object of their Worſhip, whom they pray unto; conſult upon all occaſions, and to whom they offer Sacrifice. But all this while, whether he will or no, he that is a *God* to others, is but a *Man* to himſelf, and though he may deceive others, he cannot deceive his own Conſcience. Upon Kings and great Perſons alſo baſe flattery has beſtow'd the Title of *Gods*; whereas it had been enough to have paid them their due honours; though to ſpeak the truth, Honour is properly due only to thoſe who are eminently deſerving, as Love is to excellently good Men. Thus they invoke theſe Divine Powers, they pray before their Images, implore the help of their *Genii*, that is, their *Dæmons*, and hold it a leſs Crime for a Man to be perjur'd when he ſwears by *Jupiter*, than when he ſwears by the Em-

Emperor's *Genius*. We neither worſhip Croſſes, nor wiſh to be nail'd to them. You your ſelves are more likely to adore them, who worſhip Wooden *Gods*, that are made of the ſame Matter. And what are your Banners and Standards, but gilt and beautified Croſſes? Nay, the very Trophies of your Victories do not only bear the figure of a Croſs, but of a Crucified Man. Indeed the Sign of the Croſs is naturally repreſented in many things, as in a Ship, when under Sail, or when row'd with Oars; alſo when a Man prays to *GOD* with his hands ſtretched forth, he makes the ſame Figure; So that the Figure of the Croſs, has both a ground in *Natural Reaſon*, and in your *Religion*, as being formed in the moſt Solemn action of it, Praye .

NOW I would fain meet with that Man, that ſays, or believes, that the blood of a murther'd Infant, is the initiating *Ceremony* of our Religion. Firſt, who could have the heart to ſhed the blood of a young Innocent, that

is

is but newly born? Surely none can imagine or believe ſuch a Crime, but he who can commit it. 'Tis you that expoſe your Children, new-born, to wild Beaſts and Birds, and ſtrangle them at their coming into the World: Nay, there are ſome among you, who by taking Potions, to cauſe abortion, deſtroy them in the Womb, and are guilty of their death, even before they are born. Which cruelty you have learned of your *Gods*; For *Saturn* was not contented to expoſe his own Children, but devour'd them himſelf: Upon which account they were us'd in ſome parts of *Africa* to offer him ſuch little Infants, whom they prevented from crying, by ſtopping their mouths with kiſſes, that they might not ſacrifice ſad and mournful Victims to their *Gods*. It was alſo a Cuſtom among the *Scythians*, to ſacrifice Strangers that lodg'd with them; which a King of *Egypt* alſo practis'd. The *Gauls* ſacrificed humane, or rather inhumane, Offerings to *Mercury*. The *Roman* Prieſts have upon ſome occaſions overwhelm'd and buryed

buried a *Grecian* Man and Woman, as likewiſe a Man and Woman of *Gaul*, alive: And at this day the ſolemn Worſhip paid to *Jupiter Latiaris*, is cutting of a Man's throat; which, indeed, very well becomes *Saturn*'s Son, thus to gorge himſelf with the blood of a Criminal. From whence, I ſuppoſe, it was, that *Catiline* learn'd to ratifie his Conſpiracy with humane blood; and that *Bellona* does ſtill oblige thoſe to drink a draught of it, who conſecrate themſelves to her ſervice. With which bloody Medicine, a thouſand times worſe than the Diſeaſe, the Falling-ſickneſs is alſo cured. Nor are they much leſs barbarous, who from the Amphitheatre take and eat wild Beaſts, all beſmear'd with blood, and newly fed with the fleſh and entrails of Men. For our part, it is not lawful for us, either to ſee or hear of Murthers committed; and ſo much do we abhor Humane blood, that we eat not even that of Beaſts. As for our inceſtuous and promiſcuous Feaſts, it is a Calumny invented at a conſultation of Devils, on

purpoſe to obſcure the glory of our Chaſtity, and deter Men from our Religion, before they had try'd it, by the horror of ſo great a Crime; and what your *Orator Fronto* has ſaid concerning it, is rather an *Invective* than an *Evidence*. But, really, it's your ſelves, that are guilty of Inceſts, and not we. The *Perſians* marry their own Mothers; the *Egyptians* and the *Athenians*, their Siſters. Your Stories and Tragedies, wherein you take ſo much delight, boaſt of Inceſts; and ſo you worſhip *Gods*, who have committed Inceſt with their own Mothers, Daughters, and Siſters. 'Tis therefore no wonder that that Vice is ſo frequent and faſhionable amongſt you, ſince your very *Gods* are your encouraging Examples and Complices. And indeed, it is no ſtrange thing, if oft at unawares you commit Inceſt, by your whoring indifferently every where, and by expoſing your Children to the mercy of others; ſo that it cannot well be ſuppoſed, but that you ſometimes light upon them. Thus you ſee that whilſt you accuſe us of feign'd

feign'd Inceſts, you are guilty of real ones your ſelves. But *Chriſtians* are not wont to make an outward ſhew of their Chaſtity; but enſhrine it in their Minds, and do not ſtudy ſo much to ſeem chaſt, as to be really ſo. All of us have either one only wedded Wife, or no Woman at all. As for our *Feaſts*, they are not only Chaſt, but Sober; for we do not ſpend our time in over-charging our ſtomachs with Meat and Drink; but we temper the joys of our Feaſts with the gravity and ſerioufneſs of our Converſation. And as we are thus Chaſt in our Aſſemblies, ſo are we no leſs ſuch every where elſe. There are many amongſt us, who keep themſelves undefil'd and holy in an unmarried ſtate, without boaſting of it; and we are ſo far from being inceſtuous perſons, that ſome of us are even aſham'd of lawful pleaſures. As for what concerns Honors, it doth not follow, that becauſe we decline your Purple and Dignities, that therefore we are of the dregs of the people; nor are we to be accoun-

ted Factious, if we all aſpiring after the ſame felicity keep company with one another, and all meet together as peaceably as we behave our ſelves ſingly and alone. Nor ought we to be accus'd for prating in corners, if you be either aſham'd or afraid to hear us in publick. And if our Number daily increaſes, it is not our Crime, but our Commendation; an excellent courſe of life, is not only apt to engage thoſe who are enter'd into it to perſevere and continue in it, but to invite and allure others to it. We do not know one another by any marks we have on our bodies, as you fancy; but by our modeſty and innocency. That we love one another ſo entirely, as you are troubled to ſee it, is, becauſe we know not how to hate. And that we call one another *Brethren*, which you envy us for, is, becauſe we have all *One* and the ſame *Father*, one and the ſame *Faith*, and one and the ſame *Hope*. But for your part, you do not owne one another; you rage with envy and hatred againſt one another; and the

the only ſign of your Brotherhood is Parricide, and your frequent imbruing your hands in the blood of your neareſt Relations. But you ſuppoſe, that we conceal *That* which we worſhip, becauſe we have neither *Temples* nor *Altars*. To what purpoſe ſhould we make any form or repreſentation of *GOD*, whoſe living Image, Man himſelf is? Or what *Temple* ſhould we raiſe to *Him*, ſince this whole *World*, which was made by Him, is not able to contain Him? Or ſhall we Mortals, who live in great Palaces, confine the Incomprehenſible *Glory* of *HIS MAJESTY*, to the narrow compaſs of ſome *Temple* or *Chappel*? Were it not much better to dedicate our *Mind* for the place of his *Abode*; and conſecrate our *Heart* for his *Altar*? Shall we offer to *GOD* Sacrifices and Oblations of ſuch Creatures, as he has made for our uſe? Would not this look indeed as if we had a mind to reject his Bounty, and to throw back his Gifts into his own Hands; which ſpeaks the greateſt ingratitude, eſpecially ſince the only ac-

ceptable Offering to him, is a good Mind and a pure Heart, with a ſincere Conſcience. So that he that lives innocently, prays to *GOD* acceptably; he that deals juſtly, preſents *Him* with an Offering of a ſweet ſavour; he who abſtains from fraud, doth moſt effectually propitiate and atone the *Deity*; and he that reſcues a Man that is in danger of his life, does kill the fatteſt Sacrifice. Theſe are our Sacrifices; theſe are our Myſteries; and with us, he is moſt Devout and Religious, who is moſt Juſt. But you wonder, that we neither can ſhew to others the *GOD* whom we Worſhip, nor ſee him our ſelves. Does this ſeem ſtrange to you? Why, for this very reaſon we do moſt aſſuredly believe *Him* to be *GOD*, becauſe we can perceive *Him*, but cannot ſee *Him*. For his omnipotent *Virtue* and *Power* is always preſent before our eyes, in the Works which he has made, and in the whole courſe of *Nature*; when it thunders, when it lightens, when it is fair; all his works proclaim *Him*: Let it not therefore

ſeem

ſeem ſtrange to you, that you do not ſee *GOD*. All things are mov'd and driven by the Wind, and yet you ſee it not; And the Sun it ſelf, that makes all things to be ſeen, is in a manner inviſible, by reaſon of its ſuperlative and dazling brightneſs; inſomuch as ſhould we gaze long, and ſtedfaſtly fix our eyes on it, it would blind them, and put them out. And canſt thou think thy ſelf able to bear the ſight of his Glory, who made the Sun, and is the *Fountain* of all *Light*, when thou art afraid of his *Lightnings*, and hideſt thy ſelf from his *Thunder?* Beſides, wouldſt thou ſee *GOD* with thy Eyes of fleſh, when thou canſt neither ſee nor take hold of thine own Soul, by which thou doſt live and ſpeak? But perhaps you will ſay, *GOD* is ignorant of what we do, and *He* being in Heaven, can neither conſider all, nor take knowledge of every particular perſon and his concernments. How greatly are you miſtaken? For how can *He* be far from any of us, when all things in *Heaven* and *Earth*,

and in the immenſe ſpace beyond them, are full of *Him*, and known to *Him*. *He* is not only with us, but within us; And as the *Sun*, though fixed in the *Heavens*, yet diffuſes it ſelf through the whole *Univerſe*, is preſent every where, and mingles its light with every thing, without ſtaining its brightneſs; ſo with much more reaſon, can *nothing* be hid from, or ſecret to *GOD*, the *Author* and *Beholder* of *all things*; the *Darkneſs* hides not from *Him*, for *He* is there alſo; nor the *thoughts* of *Men*, which are the truer *Darkneſs* of the *two*. We live not only under His *Governance*, but, as I may ſay, with *Him*. Neither ought we to preſume upon our great Numbers, as ſuppoſing that one may eaſily eſcape unſeen among ſo vaſt a Multitude; For though we may ſeem to our ſelves a great many, yet are we but a few with reſpect to *GOD*. We, indeed, divide and diſtinguiſh the *Earth* into *Countries* and *Nations*; but to *GOD* this whole *World* is but one *Houſe*. *Kings* cannot acquaint themſelves with the State and Con-

Concerns of their own *Kingdoms*, without the Eyes of many Miniſters; but the *MONARCH* of the whole *World* needs none to inform *Him*; we being not only under his Eye, but even in his *Boſom*. You ſay, it avail'd nothing to the *Jews*, that they worſhipped *One* Only *GOD*, with *Temples*, *Altars*, and a vaſt Number of *Ceremonies*; but in this you miſtake through ignorance, if either not remembring, or not knowing the Hiſtory of former times, you take notice only of ſome latter Events: For whilſt they ador'd our *GOD* holily, religiouſly and innocently. (I ſay Our *GOD*, for the ſame is the *GOD* of the whole *World*) whilſt they obey'd his Juſt *Commands* and wholeſome *Laws*, they became of a ſmall Number, a mighty Nation; of *poor*, they were made *rich*, and from a ſtate of *Slavery*, arriv'd to a moſt puiſſant *Monarchy*: A few of them, and unarm'd, put to flight great Armies and overthrew them, the Elements at *God*'s command fighting for them. Look into their own Writings, or if it like you

you better, into thoſe of the *Romans*; read what *Joſephus* and *Antonius Julianus* (not to mention thoſe Hiſtorians that were before them) write of that *People*, and you'l find, that their Sins drew down Calamities upon them, and whatever Evils befell them, were long before propheſied would overtake 'em, in caſe they ſhould ſtill continue in their Rebellion: So that indeed they forſook *GOD*, before they were forſaken of *Him*, and were not (as you impiouſly ſay) taken Captives with their *GOD*, but given up by *Him*, as deſerters of his Diſcipline and Law.

AS to what concerns the general Conflagration of the Univerſe, it is a vulgar Error, to think it a thing difficult or impoſſible that the World ſhould all on the ſudden be ſet on fire, and conſum'd by that means. There is no man doubts, but that which has a Beginning muſt have an End, and that that which is made, muſt finally periſh; That the Heavens themſelves, and all things therein contain'd, as they

they had a Beginning, muſt likewiſe have an End; and that ceaſing to be nouriſh'd by the exhalations of freſh and ſalt-waters, they will be inflam'd; for ſo the *Stoicks* ſtedfaſtly believe, that all the moiſture of *Nature* being ſpent, the whole World will preſently take fire: And the *Epicureans* are likewiſe of the ſame Opinion, as touching the ruin of the Univerſe, and the Conflagration of the Elements. As for *Plato*, he ſaith, That ſome parts of the World are at times drown'd with floods and inundations, others conſum'd by fire; and though he ſaid that it was made ſo at the firſt, as that it might continue for ever; yet he adds, that *GOD*, *Who* is the *Maker* of it, may deſtroy it when *He* pleaſes. Which is not at all to be wonder'd at, that a Workman can, and may take to pieces his own Work. So that herein you ſee the *Philoſophers* do fully agree with *us*; not that we do follow their ſteps, but they have taken ſome ſhadow of this Truth out of the predictions of our *Prophets*, and have fourbiſh'd and

dreſs'd

dreſs'd it up after their own way. Thus alſo the moſt renown'd amongſt them, firſt *Pythagoras*, and eſpecially *Plato*, have deliver'd down to us, though very much corrupted and maimed, the Doctrine of another Life after this; for they aſſert, That the Souls of Men after the diſſolution of their bodies, do perpetually remain, and are continually paſſing into new Bodies; and perverting the Truth ſtill more, they add, That the Souls of Men do return into the bodies of Beaſts and Birds; an Opinion which does more beſeem a *Mountebank* or *Juggler*, than a grave *Philoſopher*. But it is enough for us, that your *Wiſemen* themſelves do in ſome ſort agree with *us*. And who is ſo much a fool, as to deny, that *He* who at firſt made Man, can as eaſily reſtore and renew him? For as he is nothing after Death, ſo neither was he any thing before Life; And therefore why ſhould we think it ſtrange, that he who at the beginning was made of nothing, ſhould of nothing (as to us) be repair'd and recover'd

ver'd to a new Life; eſpecially ſince it is much more difficult to create a thing which never was, than to reſtore that to its former Being, which has already been? Or do you believe, that every thing which diſappears to our dull ſight, does periſh in the ſight of *GOD*? Whether the Body moulder into duſt, or be diſſolv'd into water, or be reduc'd to aſhes, or be attenuated into Steam and Air, it is only withdrawn out of our ſight, but to *GOD* it is preſerv'd in the ſeveral Elements into which it is chang'd. Neither do we fear, as you fancy, that any manner of prejudice comes to our Bodies by Burial; only we obſerve the *Cuſtom* of interring Dead Bodies, as the beſt. Do but look about you, and you'l ſee how, to our comfort, whole *Nature* is a lively Pourtraicture and Repreſentation of our *Reſurrection*. The Sun riſes and ſets, and ſo do the Stars; Flowers dye and ſpring up again; Trees renew their green Veſture every year; and Seeds, unleſs they dye and putrifie in the Earth, do

not

not return to a new life. And why may not our Bodies, like Trees in Winter, hide and preſerve their life and vigour, under a ſeeming withering and deadneſs? Indeed, you cannot expect to ſee this in the depth of Winter, but muſt ſtay till that great Spring comes, which ſhall make our Bodies to flouriſh and live again. Nor am I ignorant that there are very many, who being ſenſible of their own demerits, do rather wiſh, than believe, that they ſhall not be after Death; chuſing of the two, rather utterly to be extinguiſh'd, than to be reſtor'd to life again, only to be puniſh'd; which Errour encreaſes daily, by reaſon of the extreme licentiouſneſs of the Age, and the long forbearance of *GOD*, whoſe Judgments the ſlower they are, by ſo much the more juſtly and heavily are they laid on at laſt. And yet Men are told both by the Writings of *Wiſemen* and *Poets*, that there is a *Stygian* Lake, and an ever-burning River, prepar'd for the Eternal puniſhment of the Wicked, according to the Oracles of

of true *Prophets*, as well as the diſcoveries of the *Dæmons* themſelves. Hence it is the *Poets* make *Jupiter* to ſwear by the burning Rivers, and dark Deep; for as he foreſees the torments deſign'd both for himſelf and his worſhippers, ſo does he fear and tremble at them, as being without meaſure, and without end. For in wonderful wiſe this Fire does both conſume our Bodies and repair them, devour and nouriſh them at once; like the flaſhes of Lightning, which blaſt and kill the body without conſuming it; or thoſe *Vulcano's* of *Ætna* and *Veſuvius*, and others that burn continually, without waſting or going out. Thus this infernal penal Fire is ſtrangely fed, without diminution of its Fewel, and preys for ever upon the Bodies of the Damn'd without waſting them. Now, that *GOD* doth deſervedly puniſh them that know him not, impious and wicked men, none but prophane Wretches can deny, ſince it is ſcarce a leſs heinous Crime, not to know the *Father* and *Lord* of all things, than to provoke

voke and affront *Him*. And although the Ignorance of *GOD*, is enough to make Men lyable to puniſhment, as the true Knowledge of *Him*, doth avail for their Pardon and Indemnity; yet if we *Chriſtians* be compar'd with you, notwithſtanding that upon ſome of us our Diſcipline hath leſs effect, we ſhall be found much the Better Men. For you forbid Adulteries, and commit them; whereas we are known as Men, to our Wives alone. You content your ſelves only to puniſh the outward *Act*; whereas with us the very *Thought* of Evil is a Crime. You are afraid that other men ſhould be conſcious of your faults, but we ſtand in awe even of our own Conſciences, becauſe we cannot fly nor hide our ſelves from them. The Priſons are crouded with numbers of your own, but you find not one *Chriſtian* there, except he be either a *Confeſſor*, or an *Apoſtate?* Neither let any think to comfort himſelf with this, That all Humane Actions are ſubject to unavoidable *Fate* and *Deſtiny:* For though we

we attribute ſome Events to *Chance*, yet it is undeniably certain, that the Mind of Man is free in the choice of his Actions, which are therefore only puniſhable and not his Condition. What is Fate, but what *GOD* has ſpoken and decreed concerning every one of us, who being able to foreſee the Matter of His own Decrees, ſuits them to every ones deſerts and circumſtances; ſo he puniſhes in us, not the Deſtiny of our Nativity, but the ill diſpoſition of our Minds? But no more of this Matter for the preſent; which if it be not ſufficient, we may have occaſion to treat of it more amply another time. Only let me obſerve to you now, that if we are poor (which you are continually upbraiding to us) this is not a reproach, but an Honor to us; for as the Mind is apt to grow diſſolute by Luxury and Exceſs, ſo is it many times confirm'd in Virtue, by Frugality and a mean Eſtate. And yet how can he be poor who lacks nothing, who covets nothing that others have, and who is rich towards *GOD*? He indeed is

rather poor, who having much, ſtill covets more: And to ſpeak my mind freely, no man is ſo poor by Fortune, as we are all by Nature. The Birds have no Patrimony to live upon, and the Cattel upon a thouſand hills are provided for only from day to day; and we live upon theſe who have nothing certain to live upon, for they are all made for us, and we poſſeſs them all, if we covet them not. Therefore as he that travels on the road, is moſt eaſie when he carries leaſt about him; ſo in this journey of life he is happieſt who being eas'd by Poverty, doth not go ſighing under the weight and burthen of Riches, which if we thought needful for us, we might lawfully beg them of *GOD*, who, no doubt, would not deny us ſomething of that *ALL* which is *His*: But we chuſe rather to deſpiſe riches, than poſſeſs them. Our moſt earneſt *Wiſhes* are for *Innocence*; our moſt fervent *Prayers* for *Patience*; we had much rather live well and vertuouſly with a little, than prodigally and luxurioufly with

with a great Eſtate. When we undergo the troubles of this Life, and ſuffer the infirmities of our Nature, we don't ſo much account them pains and puniſhments, as a warfare in which we are engaged: For we find that our courage gains ſtrength from our infirmities, and that calamities and afflictions are the uſual Diſcipline of Vertue; it being certain that the vigour of our Bodies, as well as our Minds, is apt to decay for want of exerciſe. Thus all thoſe great Men, whom you magnifie as ſuch Examples of Vertue, became Famous no other way, but by the miſeries and calamities they were exercis'd withall. Neither is it therefore a good conſequence from our ſeeming forlorn condition, to ſay that *GOD* neglects us, or is unable to relieve us; *He* who is the great Governour of all, and the moſt compaſſionate *Lover* of his *Own*. But *He* proves us by adverſities; *He* makes tryal of our temper and diſpoſition by dangers and ſufferings; *He* ſifts our moſt hidden thoughts and inclinations; and to diſcover the bent of our

wills to the utmoſt, *He* calls us to ſuffer death for *Him*, being well aſſured that nothing can periſh in his hands, and miſcarry under his care. In ſhort, as men try *Gold* by fire, ſo does he refine *us* by afflictions. And indeed how delightful a Spectacle muſt it be to *GOD*, to ſee a Chriſtian courageouſly encountring his pains, and undauntedly preparing himſelf for all manner of threats, puniſhments and torments; to ſee him boldly look Death and the Executioner of it in the face, and without the leaſt alteration, to throw himſelf into the devouring flames; to ſee him aſſert his liberty againſt Kings and Princes, and to yield to none but *GOD*, whoſe *He* is; in a word, like a Conqueror, to triumph over his Judg; for he is really victorious, who has obtained what he ſtrives for? Where is the Souldier that would not boldly provoke and challenge dangers in the preſence of his General, knowing that none but ſuch as give good proof of themſelves, ſhall be rewarded? And yet a General cannot give what he

he has not; I mean, he cannot lengthen our days, though he may beſtow Honors upon us for our Courage and brave Exploits. But the Souldier of *JESUS CHRIST* is ſo far from being abandon'd, even in Death it ſelf, that he triumphs over it, and leads it Captive: So that though he may ſeem to be miſerable, yet he cannot be ſo. You your ſelves exalt, even to the Skies, ſuch as have couragiouſly ſuffer'd for their Country: Witneſs *Mutius Scævola*, who being miſtaken in his attempt upon the King, had certainly been put to death by his Enemies, had he not, by a moſt undaunted courage, burnt off his own right hand before their eyes, upon the Altar. And how many are there amongſt us, who without the leaſt ſhreaking or crying out, have endur'd, not only to have their right hands, but their whole bodies conſum'd to aſhes, when they might with one word have deliver'd themſelves from thoſe extreme tortures? But why do I compare our Men with *Mutius* and *Aquilius* and *Regulus*?

Our very Women and Children make ſlight of croſſes and tortures, are unconcern'd at the ſight of wild and ravenous Beaſts; and in a word, by a Patience divinely inſpir'd, make a mock of torment in all its frightful ſhapes. And yet ſo miſerably blind are you, as not to conſider that there are none who will either endure torments without cauſe, or can be ſo courageous under them, without a ſupernatural and *Divine* Aſſiſtance. But this is that which perhaps deceives you, That you ſee thoſe who know not *GOD* to abound in *Riches*, flouriſh in *Honor* and excel in *Power* and *Dignity*. Poor Wretches! They are lifted up on high, that they may have the greater fall; They are Beaſts fatten'd for Sacrifice, and ſo many Victims crown'd before their Slaughter; ſo that one would think, ſeeing their lewd Lives, that they are ſet upon Thrones, only to abuſe their Power, and to ſin with more licentiouſneſs. Beſides, without the knowledge of *GOD* there can be no ſolid Felicity, ſince

ſince all the things of this World are like a Dream, which vaniſhes before we can lay hold of it. Kings feel as many fears in themſelves, as they cauſe in others, and though they are guarded with a great retinue, yet they are alone in dangers. You are rich (it's true) but it is not well to truſt inconſtant *Fortune*. Beſides, if things be rightly conſider'd, ſo much Luggage, for ſo ſhort a Journey is more cumberſome than uſeful. You glory in your *Purple* and *Dignities*; but without cauſe, ſince Scarlet and rich Veſtments are but a pitiful Ornament to you, if your Souls be tainted with Sin and polluted with Vice. You pretend to be of a great *Family* and of Noble *Parentage*: But don't you know that we are all Equal by our Birth, and that Virtue only ought to make the difference among Men. It is therefore with good reaſon that *Chriſtians*, who aim at being eſteem'd only upon the account of their Virtuous Manners and Modeſt Behaviours, deſpiſe your Shews and Pomps, and fly from them as de-

lightful Inticers and Corrupters of men; and with the same reason also they abstain from your Religious *Worship* and *Ceremonies*, as well knowing what was their Beginning and Original. For who can but abhor to hear and see those confused Contests and Shouts of the Multitude at your Chariot-races? What sober Mind is not astonish'd to see the Art of killing Men, publickly profess'd in your *Gladiators* Games? And for your *Theaters*, as the madness there is no less, so they exceed in all manner of infamous lewdness and filthiness; where a bold and shameless Actor represents or relates Adulteries, and the lascivious Jester by making Love, incites to Lust and Lasciviousness; where they dishonor your *Gods* by ascribing sighs and hatred, and Whoredoms, the Passions and the Vices of men to them. With feigned griefs they draw real tears from your eyes; so that you can lament personated Murthers, and take delight in true ones. If we abhor the remainders of your *Sacrifices*, and of the

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Wine that has been preſented upon your *Altars*, this is not to be interpreted as an acknowledgment of our fear, but an aſſerting of our juſt liberty. For though nothing can corrupt the Gifts of *GOD*, which *Nature* has produc'd for our uſe, yet we willingly abſtain from thoſe prophane Oblations, leſt we might be thought either to acknowledge the *Dæmons*, to whom they are conſecrated, or to be aſham'd of our own *Religion*.

But how come you to fancy that we have an Antipathy to Flowers? Don't we gather the Lilly and the Roſe, and whatever the Spring affords, and is eſteem'd either for its beauty or fragrancy? We both ſtrew them, and tye them up into Noſe-gays, and make them into Garlands, which we hang about our necks. But I hope you will excuſe us, if we don't wear Garlands on our Heads, and are of opinion that Flowers ought to be ſmelt by the Noſe, and not by the hair or hinder part of the Head. Neither do we think it neceſſary to crown the Dead with

with Garlands; but wonder at you for doing of it. For what good can Flowers do them, if they have no ſenſe? Or if they have any, why do you expoſe them to the funeral flames? Beſides, if they be happy, they do not need them; and if they be miſerable, Flowers will be but a ſmall comfort to them. As for us, we celebrate the Funerals of our Dead Friends with the ſame Modeſty and Compoſedneſs that appears in our whole Life. We don't crown them with Garlands that fade away, they being crown'd with ſuch as are made of immortal and never-dying Flowers, by the hand of *GOD* himſelf. We are moderate in our deſires, being aſſur'd of the Bounty of our good *GOD*; and freed from all fear, by the certain hopes of a future Felicity; and animated to do and ſuffer for *Him*, by the Faith of his Glorious preſence with us: Inſomuch as we have not only a Happineſs in reverſion at the reſurrection of the Juſt; but are happy already in the contemplation

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and proſpect of our future Bleſſedneſs. Therefore let that *Athenian* Droll, *Socrates*, enjoy the comfort of his own confeſſion, that he knows nothing, and glory in the deceitful Teſtimony given him by the Oracle, upon that account; Let *Arceſilas* and *Carneades*, *Pyrrho*, and the reſt of the *Academicks* be continually deliberating and doubting; Let *Simonides* for ever ask a longer day for the giving his Anſwer; for our part we do not value thoſe *Philoſophers*, whom we know to have been *Tyrants*, *Corrupters*, and *Adulterers*, and who were never more Eloquent, than when they declaim'd againſt their own Vices. We don't endeavour to make a ſhew of Wiſdom in our Garb, but to have it ſhine forth in the diſpoſition of our Minds and Manners. We don't talk of great things, but live and do them. In ſhort, we make it our glory to have attain'd that which they ſo earneſtly ſought for, but could never find. Why are we ſo unthankful to God? Why do we envy our ſelves our own happineſs, that it ſhould

ſhould be our lot to ſee the *Divine* Truth come to its full ripeneſs in our days? Let us enjoy this great Bleſſing and advantage of being in the right, and having the Truth on our ſide, with that temper and modeſty which becomes us. Let Superſtition be control'd; let all impiety be purg'd away, and let the true Religion be preſerv'd and continue for ever.

WHEN *Octavius* had thus ended his Diſcourſe, we remain'd a good while in a kind of amazement, looking earneſtly upon one another, without ſpeaking one word. For my part I was almoſt tranſported with admiration, that he had both by *Arguments*, and *Examples*, and the *Authority* of Teſtimonies, which his reading furniſh'd him withall, adorn'd ſo good a Cauſe, and ſo clearly made out thoſe things which are more eaſily *felt* than *expreſt*; being moſt of all pleas'd to ſee that he had both fought and foil'd them at their own Weapons, and clearly demonſtrated, that Truth is not only eaſie, but hath many favourable advantages on its ſide.

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Whilſt I was thus ſilently muſing with my ſelf, *Cæcilius* breaks out into theſe words; I congratulate *Octavius* moſt heartily, and my own happineſs alſo, upon this occaſion: Neither do I expect your Sentence; We are both Conquerors; nor am I unjuſt in challenging the Victory; for if *Octavius* has had the better of me, I at the ſame time do triumph over my own Errors. Therefore, as to what concerns the main Queſtion, I both own a *Providence*, and believe in *GOD*; and for the reſt, I agree with you touching the ſincerity and truth of *your*, or (to ſpeak more properly) *Our RELIGION*. Nevertheleſs there remain ſome few things (not in oppoſition to Truth, but needful for my fuller information) of which I deſire we may entertain ſome further Diſcourſe. But we will put off this till to morrow (the Sun being now near ſetting) that at our leiſure, and with more convenience we may throughly diſcuſs this whole *Matter*.

WHEN *Cæcilius* had thus freely utter'd his Mind, As for me (ſaid I) I

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am overjoy'd upon the account of us all, and in particular, that *Octavius* has done me so great a pleasure by his Victory, as to deliver me from the envy of judging between my Friends. Nevertheless I shall not launch forth into the Praises of *Octavius*, because I am sensible that I can never give him the Commendations he deserves. Besides, the Testimony of a man, and of one only, is too little: The Great *GOD* is his Reward, who has inspir'd him with so perswasive a Speech, and enabled him to overcome.

THUS we all departed joyfully, *Cæcilius*, because he had believ'd; *Octavius*, because he had overcome; and *my self*, both for the *Faith* of the *One*, and *Victory* of the *Other*.

THE END.

THE *Tranſlator* of this *Book*, teaches the *French* Tongue according to an exact and eaſie Method. He is to be heard of at Mrs *Gates*'s Houſe in *Bow-Lane*, over againſt *Baſing-Lane*-end, *London*.